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**FISHERMEN, FARMERS, AND FIESTAS:  
CONTINUITY IN RITUAL OF TRADITIONAL VILLAGES  
ON THE NORTHWEST COAST OF PERU**

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**FISHERMEN, FARMERS, AND FIESTAS:  
CONTINUITY IN RITUAL OF TRADITIONAL VILLAGES  
ON THE NORTHWEST COAST OF PERU**

by

**Nancy Ellen Schaeffer B.A.; M.A.**

**Dissertation**

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## **Dedication**

To all the *sacerdotes, ancianos*, fishermen and farmers,  
whose knowledge and wisdom continue to revitalize those of  
indigenous and non-indigenous cultures around the globe.

And, to Raven who tricked me into this.



## **Acknowledgements**

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I am particularly grateful to my dissertation committee members. My co-chairs, Terence Grieder and Henry Dietz stepped in brilliantly for the last year, due to the untimely passing of Gerard Béhague and Richard P. Schaedel. Steve Bourget and Margot Beyersdorff provided exceptionally significant reviews, feedback, suggestions to develop the quality of the content and readability. Nancy Schiesari contributed greatly in the critique and suggestions for the photographs and multimedia material to be used.

While I am grateful for the support of these people, I alone am responsible for any shortcomings in this dissertation.

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Nancy Ellen Schaeffer, PhD

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**ABSTRACT**

This dissertation is an attempt to explain aspects of sacred ceremonial expression of the Peruvian northwest coastal farmers and fishermen in the Moche Valley. The study is informed primarily by *sacerdotes andinos* (healer-priests), *ancianos* (elders), and native fishermen and farmers. Specifically, *sacerdotes andinos* are the teachers of ritualistic dances and myths. Lessons learned from the *sacerdotes* are not only an intellectual exercise; they are “lived.” The myths of fishermen and farmers are initiated and experienced with the sounds of the *sacerdote* “ancestor” conch trumpet, the *maraca* (seed) rattle and song-chants in ceremony, but not by everyday language. The initiation ritual of the *Diablada* dancers takes place on top of the *huaca* (sacred place) of the Chimú ancestor in Chan Chan from

midnight to dawn. Then, with the *siete ñustas de wiracocha* (essence of seven mystical plants) combined with the sounds of the ocean waves breaking on the shore and the constant rattle and chanting of the *sacerdote*, one travels and learns. These historical-mythological adventure-traditions are repeated frequently, remembered and passed on from one generation to the next through sound.

The dances of the *Diablada*, the *Ingas* and *Ñustas*, and the processional journey to the Moche River tell stories about the community, the land, relationships and the culture of the people. For each village, there is a distinct structure and style of expression. Traditional farming and fishing techniques, village relations, ceremonies, rituals, dances, music, and myth continue to exist and orient the people.

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## PART I: GROUNDWORK

### Chapter 1 Reflective Philosophy

#### THEMATIC STATEMENT

Ancestral ceremonies, dance, music and myth continue to exist and orient the fishermen and farmers on the northwest coast of Peru.



Figure 1.1 The Virú *Diablada* dance in a prayer for rain during the December festival (1982).

It is the purpose of this dissertation to attempt to give meaning to their rituals and sacred narratives. It is also my intention to bring

the reader closer to another culture, with its living stories informed by *sacerdotes andinos* (healer-priests), *ancianos* (elders) and native historians. They are the Muchik, the descendents of the Mochica and Chimú. As a brief introduction to the people I am writing about, figures 1.1-1.7 are photographs of these villagers. All photographs are taken by the author unless otherwise stated.



Figure 1.2 A Muchik Woman with long black braids from Virú lights a candle for the “bringer of rain,” la Mama Collo. La Mama Collo stands on a half moon with stars in her hair and is the spirit of the rain deity in the sky world (1985).



Figure 1.3 Woman from the province of Huamachuco walking to market. She was ninety years old when the photo was taken. Every Saturday she walks over ten miles on the mountain paths to trade at the local fruit, vegetable and grain (quinoa) stalls. The flowers she is holding are called *Flor de Verano*, "the first spring flowers" (Huamachuco 1984).



Figure 1.4      Fishermen repairing their nets. They continue to sail in pre-Hispanic *balsa* rafts. Seasonally, the fishermen will travel to Guayaquil, Ecuador; and exchange bags of dried fish for the balsa logs with their *compadres* and *commadres* (fictive kin). The rhythm of their life is tuned to the gentle lapping of the waves (Chuliyachi 1985).



Figure 1.5 This fisherman is using the ancient technique of throwing a circular net from the shore into the Pacific Ocean to catch fish. The method can also be used for fishing in rivers and lakes (Casma 1989).





Figure 1.6 A family on their way to the festival designated as “feeding the earth mother.” Their clothing is made entirely from hand-spun threads of llama wool, hand-woven and dyed with natural minerals, roots and plants. The girl in the fore is imitating the *Auki Auki*, the ancient ones’ ritualized humorous dance, often seen at religious festivals in the *sierra* (Huamachuco 1996).



Figure 1.7      A young girl in the *sierra* spinning llama wool on a spindle, an ancient technique used before the Spanish arrived. Young girls also usually watch a herd of llamas while they spin (near Huamachuco 1986).

There is a difference between the world of these fishermen and farmers and Western academic dialogue. This study is intended to be a dialogue between the two voices.

The Muchik believe there is a sacred order in the universe, which operates on principles of obligation and reciprocity and is understood with visual experience and myth.<sup>1</sup> The magical nature of supernatural

characters, nonordinary events, and transcendent powers are taught and demonstrated by the *sacerdote* in a ceremony which brings the Muchik into a conscious experience of the myth itself. Having engaged their participation, the *sacerdote* proceeds to re-create and renew an ancient relationship to the universe that is beyond the mundane.

IN SUM, this dissertation is an examination of Muchik religious expression. Throughout my research, the questions are asked: Can the myth and sacred ceremony of a festival calendar demonstrate that “the critical elements of an entire culture lie within demarcated frames of time and space?”<sup>2</sup> Is there a continuity of their belief system from their historic past? I rely on extensive conversations, observation, and participation with contemporary villagers, and I take part in their ceremonies to answer these questions.

### **ORGANIZATION OF THE DISSERTATION**

In this dissertation, I do not pretend to offer a complete ethnography of the rituals of the traditional villagers of northwest coast Peru. I present a general overview of the area both historically and geographically, and then clarify some of the expressions of their religion during key festivals and performances. This dissertation, whatever defects it may possess, should prove to be of value to Peruvians and to others interested in Peruvian communities. A good

many reports on Peruvian communities would be necessary to complete the picture and it is hoped they will be forthcoming.

PART I - GROUNDWORK<sup>3</sup> has three chapters. (This dissertation is a continuation of work begun in 1974; to avoid duplication I will include only new resources and data.)<sup>4</sup> Chapter 1: Reflective Philosophy contains the thematic statement and the questions to be asked about ritual expression. Chapter 2: Fieldwork and Resources describes the resources I used such as my interviews with villagers, my participation in the ceremonies, and a review of sources I used. Chapter 3: The Northwest Coast Region is a brief introduction to the geography and history of the three villages in discussion: Huanchaco, Moche and Huamachuco.

PART II – CYCLES has three chapters. In Chapter 4: The Festival Cycles on the Northwest Coast of Peru, I outline the cycles of the primary festivals of the Muchik. Chapter 5: Configurations of Time describes how the lives of the Muchik are organized into temporal cyclical patterns. Chapter 6: Configurations of Space shows how mythic and religious constructs relate to the spatial entities of the community and its surroundings.



Figure 1. 8 Northwest coast of Peru. (Santa Valley 1989).

PART III – ORDERING OF THE MICROCOSM contains two chapters, in which I detail aspects of the festivals.<sup>5</sup> Chapter 7: Mythohistory discusses how the Muchik define collective memory and oral history; this is followed by an analysis of origin myths. The focus is on continuity of ceremonial expressions. In Chapter 8: Local Ritual Expression, I describe and analyze the religious dance group, the *Diablada*, in the festival of the *Mamita* in Huanchaco, the religious journey along ancient irrigation canals in Moche during the harvest festival and the religious dance group the *Ingas* and *Ñustas* in the Huamachuco festival to “feed the earth.”

PART IV – CONCLUSION contains one chapter with three sub-sections. The sub-sections are Understanding Ceremonial Expression, Disengagement and Resistance, and Closing the Account. They include a summary of the Muchik creative world, a portrayal of the mechanisms Peruvian coastal villagers employ to survive and a short closing statement with an explanation of Andean culture by *sacerdote La Maestra*.

## **Endnotes to Chapter One, pp 1-11**

<sup>1</sup> Victor Turner (1977) described this as a symbolic vision and/or miracle perceived by the peasants and brought to them as a gift of power or guidance. Mircea Eliade (1969) established the relationship between historical circumstance and the meaning of religious existence. Clifford Geertz (1973) demonstrated how the different contexts of dreams, ecstasy, rite and myth, religious symbols exhibit meanings that complement one another and fall into a pattern.

<sup>2</sup> Anya Peterson Royce (1977:163) cited in Stanley H. Brandes (1979:25-43). Some investigators have explored the possibility that ritual dance also serves as a paradigm for physical existence in time. For example, Marcel Mauss suggested the possibility that even bodily gestures are the cultural-historical residue of collective rituals; see Mauss (1950:365-386).

<sup>3</sup> The meaning of "groundwork" is based on Hegel's idea "essence as ground of existence" explained in John Hibben (1902, Chapter XI).

<sup>4</sup> I will include only the sources not cited in my Masters' thesis, 1978.

<sup>5</sup>In fact, you should start with Part III if you are an expert on the northwest coast of Peru.

## **Chapter 2: Field Work and Resources**

### **METHODOLOGY - BEING THERE<sup>1</sup>**

My research began in 1974 when I worked as a still photographer and ethnographer in an anthropological project on a survey of the communities on the Peruvian northwest coast under the leadership of Richard P. Schaedel.<sup>2</sup> In 1976,<sup>3</sup> I made another study of the lifestyles and festivals in three villages: Santa Rosa, Morrope, and San Miguel (all in the Lambayeque Valley) to consider a wider comparison of their belief systems and rituals.<sup>4</sup> From 1978 to 1995, I returned to the Peruvian northwest coast every year for two months to study the festivals, myths, and villagers.<sup>5</sup> From November 1995 to April 1997 I went back for an in-depth study for this dissertation funded by the Fulbright Commission. I focused on the continuity of ritual and oral history of the villages Huanchaco, Moche and Huamachuco in the Moche Valley cluster. The Huanchaco and Moche are at the mouth of and Huamachuco is at the source of, the Moche River (see map 3.1).



## RESOURCES

### A) PERSONAL INTERVIEWS

The bulk of my research was documented with interviews. My primary informants were Antonio Rodríguez SuySuy,<sup>6</sup> Walter Díaz Sánchez and *sacerdote La Maestra*. Antonio is both a native Mochero and professor of Anthropology in Trujillo; his mother had been a *sacerdote andino*. Walter is a native historian and fisherman, and *La Maestra* is a *sacerdote*; both are native Huanchaqueros. Many more interviewees are mentioned in chapter 6.

### B) PARTICIPATION

My participation in the festivals increased year by year. At the beginning (1974-75), everything was new. I observed, partook in the activities reserved for guests, conducted some interviews, filmed (super 8), photographed, and feasted. In subsequent years, I was allowed to join families and to be included in organization meetings. As a partial sponsor of the festival, I covered the costs for one evening during the festival with its food, drink, musicians, and fireworks. In 1995, I was allowed to become a *diablada* dancer (see figure 2.1), go through a training process and participate in an all-night initiation healing ceremony on top of a pre-Hispanic *huaca* in Chan Chan with *sacerdote La Maestra* and *Diablada* dancers (see part III).



Figure 2.1 *Diablada* dancers enter Trujillo by the gate of Mansiche in the celebration of *La Mamita Mama Colla*, processional journey from Huanchaco to Trujillo.<sup>7</sup> Mansiche is one of the sacred ancestral sites where the dethroned Chimú governors lived and were buried during the beginning of the colonial era.

### C) Literature

In addition to the resources cited in my previous work Terence Grieder<sup>8</sup> provided information on the art and archaeology of the Recuay site, Pashash. Recuay ceramics were found in Huamachuco. Reports by Walter Alva<sup>9</sup> on Sípan, a large Mochica site in the middle of the Lambayeque Valley gave information on the sites visited by contemporary *sacerdotes*. In ceremony, the Huanchaco *sacerdote* *La Maestra* “took flight” to visit and speak to a pre-Hispanic *sacerdote huaca* living in one of the temples of Sípan (see part III).

The work of ethnohistorian Sabine MacCormack<sup>10</sup> addressed my queries of why the indigenous dance was called the *diablada* (devils) and why the once adversaries of the Inca were today mourning the death of Atahualpa in their religious ceremonies. Additional ethnographic material was important and found in the poetic treatise on Huanchaco by the fisherman/historian Walter Díaz Sánchez and Richard P. Schaedel's work of photographs from 1904 of the Lambayeque and Moche regions by the ethnographer Hans Brüning.<sup>11</sup> In 1993, Fernando Cabieses published a major work, which described and analyzed traditional medicine and religious belief systems of present day Andean healers. New sources on ritual activity of the Muchik religious festivals were Bernard Schmelz's article on survival mechanisms for the indigenous festival Cruz de Chalpón of Motupe, Lambayeque, and Elizabeth den Otter's work in Huaylas de Ancash on music and ritual. Musicians of Huamachuco consider the music from Huaylas de Ancash to be the *cuna* (birthplace) of their music and rituals.<sup>12</sup>

A new comparative source on the Quechua- and Aymara-speaking villages was the ethnographer and linguist Margot Beyersdorff's book about the theater dances in Oruro, Bolivia. Other sources included Lawrence Sullivan and Hans Buechler on the Andean

sacred calendar.<sup>13</sup> Juan Ossio, Raul Romero et al. and Zoila Mendoza-Walker<sup>14</sup> reported on the Andean music in ceremony. These reports described rituals that follow the moments of the calendar as seasonal music actually orchestrates the passage of time (see part II).

IN SUM, my work adds a small contribution to ethnographic work on the contemporary (1978 to present) traditional villagers' life and religion. In hindsight, I find dialogues with the villagers, listening to their oral narratives and living with them over an extended time has been crucial to a common understanding and an emergent reciprocity of ideas.

## Endnotes to Chapter Two, pp 13-17

<sup>1</sup> The notion of "being-there," is derived from (Geertz, 1988). He defines it as the ethnographic attempt to make continuity between experience and reality. Once one has been through "out there," one must negotiate the passage to being "back here." The final report is developed as an "I-witnessing" author into a "they-picturing" story.

<sup>2</sup> Funded by grants from Wennergren and NSF.

<sup>3</sup> With a grant from the Latin American Institute, University of Texas at Austin, for my Masters' Thesis 1978.

<sup>4</sup> More specifics are included in Appendix A.

<sup>5</sup> In many ways it became a second home.

<sup>6</sup> Antonio Rodríguez SuySuy had been a student of Richard P. Schaedel when Schaedel began the Anthropology Department at the University of Trujillo in the 1950s.

<sup>7</sup> Fisherman Walter Díaz Sánchez photo, used with permission for educational use only, 1995.

<sup>8</sup> Terence Grieder, 1978. The motifs of the jaguar, serpent, large bird and corn, which appear in the myths and *sacerdote* ceremonies of today, could perhaps be traced from pre-Mochica. More work needs to be done for a comparison to Huamachuco.

<sup>9</sup> Walter Alva, 1988.

<sup>10</sup> Sabine MacCormack, 1991.

<sup>11</sup> Schaedel (1988), Hans Brüning (1848-1928).

<sup>12</sup> Edilberto Sandoval, personal communication, 1996.

<sup>13</sup> Andean music and dance in ritual define and order time into a calendar, Sullivan, 1988: 177. The continuum of calendar and ritual among the Aymara-speaking villagers, Hans Buechler, 1980:358-359, is marked by specific instruments, their sounds, and their players which coordinate with the seasons, the weather, and the feasts, as well as with specific dances, costumes designs, and tasks. Divine beings and sacred sounds, colors, foods, gestures and words participate in the reality they signify, making the religious symbols powerful and effective expressions. The Muchik today also follow a ritual calendar combining their Sky World, Earth World and Underground (see part III).

<sup>14</sup> Juan Ossio (1976), Raul Romero et al. (1993), Zoila Mendoza-Walker (2000).

## Chapter 3: The Northwest Coast Region

### OVERVIEW

Many of the myths and oral historical accounts that the Muchik refer to are about landscapes and events that took place in their prehistoric past. This chapter is a brief introduction to their environment and history with a focus on aspects related to their ceremonial expression.



Figure 3.1 Tortugas, a fishing village south of Moche, illustrates the typical settlement pattern of the Muchik fishing village; it follows nature's lines around the inlet (Tortugas 1985).

### **BRIEF GEOGRAPHICAL AND HISTORICAL SETTING.**

The northwest coast of Peru is bordered on the west by the Pacific Ocean and on the east by the Andes Mountains. Between the coast and the Andes is one of the world's driest deserts, caused by the meeting of two ocean currents, the Humboldt and *El Niño*. Approximately every ten years, the warmer current *El Niño*<sup>1</sup> becomes so strong that it disrupts the fish environment accustomed to the cold Humboldt waters.



Figure 3.2 A photo of *Cerro Campana* of Huanchaco before *el Niño*. Note there is hardly any vegetation, and the valley floor is almost a desert. Feb. 11, 1998.<sup>2</sup>





Figure 3.3 This photo shows the torrential rains falling over *Cerro Campana*, three hours after the first photo was taken on February 11, 1998. Soon Huanchaco would flood and many of the fishermen's houses, fishing vessels, and nets would be destroyed.

It also causes floods and destroys coastal houses as far south as the Chicama and Moche River Valleys (see figures 3.2, 3.3). Every five years there is a huge Huanchaco festival precisely to guard against the disastrous effects of *el Niño* (see part III).

Historically, the inhabitants of these communities are descendants of the ancient Mochica and Chimú cultures. In 2002, Richard P. Schaedel and Antonio Rodríguez SuySuy referred to them as the Muchik and identified them as peasants.<sup>3</sup>

**Fishing villages.**

The earliest coastal inhabitants were most likely paleoindian hunters and fishermen.<sup>4</sup> Maria Rostworowski gathered information from the Spanish chroniclers, on the coastal fishing cultures at a time slightly before European contact.<sup>5</sup> Enclaves were formed where *tatora* (*scirpus*) reeds were cultivated in the small lagoons near the shore. Not only did the inhabitants fish for their immediate local consumption of the valley-wide community, but salted and dried the fish for *trueque* (trade) with the highlands. The many routes connecting the highlands to the coast suggested continuous economic exchange. Maria Rostworowski suggests coastal fishermen were allowed to maintain a certain autonomy of trade and lifestyle because they were given a privileged position under the rule of Inca and later the Spanish.

***Fishing Village – Huanchaco.***

Huanchaco is a small fishing village built into the side of a curved, indented hill that faces the Pacific Ocean. It is located about eleven miles north of Moche and seven miles northwest of Trujillo. Archaeologists have reported evidence of occupation or use in Huanchaco for 5,000 years.<sup>6</sup> The Huanchaqueros today are a community of roughly eighty-five extended families that are dedicated to professional fishing. The people call these families dynasties; their

surnames are: Piminchumu, Huamanchumu, Huamanchauca, Ucañanes, Chilmazas, Gordillos, Chinchayanes, Ponamaza, Pallamaza, and Chay Huac. These are the *sabios* (knowledgeable ones); their names include references to Grand Chimú rulers and princesses.

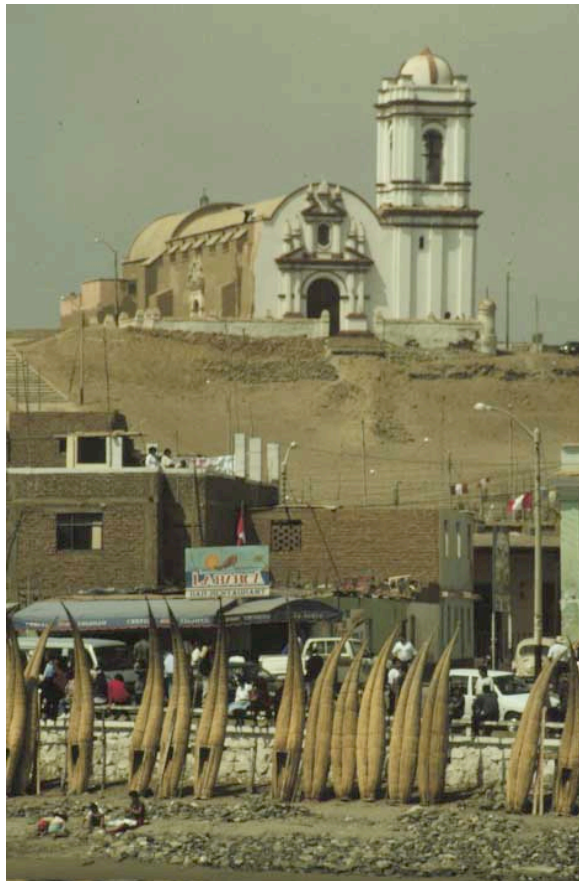


Figure 3.4 Fishing village Huanchaco with *caballitos de totora* (1992).

Chay Huac is Walter Díaz Sanchez's ancestor, the last great *sacerdote*-ruler in the Colonial Era. He is supposedly buried in the Chan Chan *huaca* upon which the *sacerdote* performs the ceremony for

the *Diablada* (see part III). Since 1940, modernization has caused some changes in the region due to the completion of the Pan American Highway and the introduction of Western mechanized industry. The fishing vessels are still the traditional one-man bundle-reed boats called *caballitos de totora*. There are lagoon enclaves north and south of the village where the *totora* reeds are grown. These lagoons are sacred and are called *wachaque* by the fishermen. The reeds are harvested and dried, then gathered into bundles and tied together by rope. The Pacific Ocean has always been an extraordinary source of food with amply supply to feed the entire coastal farming population. The powerful sea world is also where many deity spirits live, and have lived there since the time of the first humans (see origin myth, part III). Sea legends, beliefs, myths, and anecdotes are passed down from generation to generation as oral tradition.<sup>7</sup>

Sacred places are called *marcas* by the fishermen.<sup>8</sup> Every place has a name, history and legend; in fact, the name is a signifier that triggers memories (see chapters 6 and 8). Ethnically and socially, Huanchaqueros identify with the Mochica and Chimú and are connected by marriage to the fishing villages that also had used the *cabillito de totora*. These are (from north to south) San José, Santa Rosa (Lambayeque), Chérrepe, Puémape, el Milagro, el Brujo, el

Charco, Tres Palos, Urrucape (Chicama), Chimbote Pescador, los Chimus, Samanco, and Visiki (Casma) (see maps in appendix C, D, E). In fact, doña Dominga Gordillo Segura says, "Huanchaco is the *cuna* (birthplace) of all other fishing villages." This statement addresses an ancient memory and reaffirms a strong ethnic identity. Although the fishermen still prefer to not marry farmers, they are related as fictive kin and participate in their religious festivals.

### **Farming Villages.**

The cultivation of maize was necessary for the agricultural villages to develop. Extensive irrigation systems including canals and terracing were developed and a surplus was produced, which allowed a large number of the native people to leave the task of direct food production. Artificial irrigation for production and consolidation of work groups were required to build and maintain these waterways. During this slow process of increasing surplus, the transition of a small agricultural community to a more consolidated state of stabilization and communal living occurred. A class system evolved, and was based on the manipulation of masses of laborers. Manufacturing and other forms of skilled activity were placed in the hands of specialized groups, originally organized and directed by priest or military-warrior leaders.<sup>9</sup>

Spanish Colonial rule (1532-1821) created radical changes in the social organization and economic production. Before the Spanish arrival, the indigenous population lived on communally owned property, redistributed every year according to need. This system was strange to the Spaniards and was replaced by their system of *encomiendas* or land grants, whereby tribute could be collected. Some indigenous communities retreated to less favorable yet still cultivable land in order to maintain their traditional structure. This combination of Spanish and indigenous land tenure is prevalent today.<sup>10</sup>

The Muchik coastal agricultural village faces challenges with the increased modernization process. Still, they remain independent farmers and the rhythm of their life is primarily dependent on the seasonal changes and cycles of nature. In fact, due to the pressures from the government these villages have become more isolated in an ultra-conservative way.

***Farming Village on the Coast - Moche.***

Moche village lies within the last bend of the Moche River before it enters the Pacific Ocean, and is situated between the parallels 8°8" and 8°12" south latitude and 79°00" and 79°03" west longitude.<sup>11</sup> The Moche river borders the Moche village on the north and northwest. To

the east are the irrigated lands, which end abruptly with the prominent mountain *Cerro Blanco*.



Figure 3.5 *Cerro Blanco* in Moche. In the fore is a view of the *campiña* and farmhouse belonging to the Mochero guardians of the *Cerro* (May 1996).

To the south and the southeast, the fertile Moche valley gradually turns to sand dunes, which border the Pacific Ocean. *Cerro Blanco* is Moche's guardian mountain (see figure 3.5). At the point where the Moche river flows in front of the mountain, there is an ancient truncated pyramid called *Huaca del Sol*. From on top of the pyramid and *Cerro Blanco* one has a complete view of the Moche village countryside. Built into the base of the *Cerro Blanco* is another smaller monumental structure constructed by the Moche called the *Huaca de la Luna*.<sup>12</sup>

Moche is divided into the *pueblo* (town) and the *campiña* (rural farm area). The *pueblo* is small. It takes about fifteen minutes to walk from one side to the other. *Acequias* (water canals) from the Moche River surround the *pueblo*. The *acequias* border the pathway of the processional journey in the harvest festival. The principal ones are named the *acequia la general*, *acequia del camal* and *acequia de los muertos*.<sup>13</sup> The *campiña* is approximately a total of five square miles and surrounds the village on all sides. Farmhouses are located at intervals and each *chacra* (farm holding) is roughly 1000 square meters. There are two harvests in Moche. In December, the wet-season crop is planted, which is harvested in April and May. There is a smaller harvest in November of the dry-season planting in June. The festival of San Isidro discussed in part III is a *cosecha* (harvest) festival for the first big crop in April and May.

Moche is a community of independent farmers. Labor is traded reciprocally and not sold as a commodity. They own their land and remain as culturally isolated as possible from Trujillo, modernization and Western influence. Connections are primarily with other Muchik villages.<sup>14</sup> Change is extremely slow. The festivals I first visited in 1974, resemble those in 1995 through 1997.



Squier's description of Moche is also not much different than what the traveler would describe today.

A ride of another league, over a flat country and a dusty road, brought us to the Indian pueblo, a considerable town, regularly laid out, of low cane huts, their roofs of reed matting supported by crooked algarroba posts, and covered with a thin layer of mud to keep them from blowing away. There were a few houses of crude adobes, roofed in like manner. We rode directly to the house of the *gobernador*, a full blooded Indian. His dwelling was merely an immense shed, fenced off with adobe or canes, for such of the occupants as affected privacy. The floor was barren, with evidence of animals...We rode through the silent streets, deep in dust, to the plaza, one side of which was occupied by a church, a quaint, old tumble-down edifice, its bell-tower reached by a flight of stone steps outside the building.<sup>15</sup>

Today, the streets are cobblestone and there are straw mats on the floor. Otherwise it is very similar. Horses and *burros* are still preferred over autos; animals are considered as family pets.

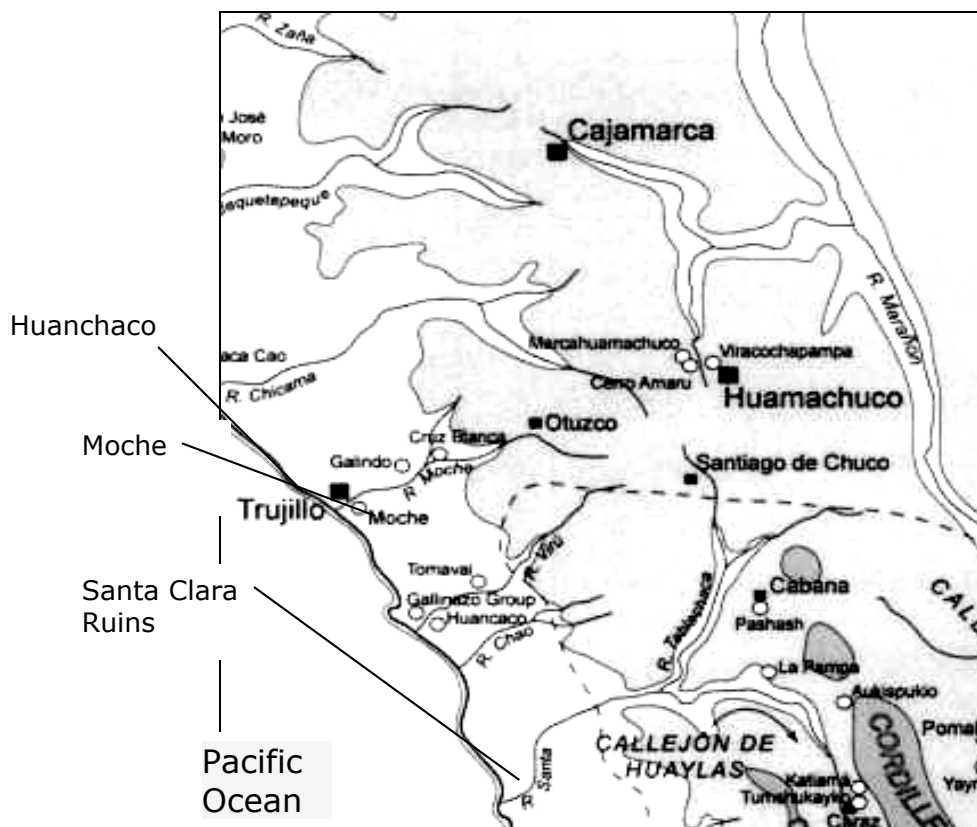
### ***Farming Village and Province in the Sierra - Huamachuco.***

Going inland from the Pacific Ocean following the Moche River valley are foothills of the Andes and mountain range called the *Cordillera*.<sup>16</sup> The landscape changes from the hot, dry coastal desert to the cold, wet *sierra*. At the top of the *Cordillera* is a high, cold, windy, and treeless pastoral zone called the *puna* (pasture). Among the few inhabitants in the *puna* are the *Ichuris*, a highly revered group of *sacerdotes* named after the mysterious *ichu* grass.<sup>17</sup> Unfortunately, the ominous mineshafts from the gold and copper mines of Quiruvilca are also located here which pollute the Moche River. Fish can no longer

live in this water that serves as the irrigated water for the coastal villages.

Beyond the *puna* lies the village of Huamachuco, which is located at the other end of the Moche River watershed and the beginning of the *Marañón* (see map 3.1). A northern branch of the Santa river valley connects Huamachuco directly with the southern area of *Callejón de Huayllas* and with the *Cajamarca* area to the north. Huamachuco is at the crossroads of the coast to the Amazon and Cuzco to Quito (longitude 7°49'04" south and latitude 79°17'45" west, 10,700 feet above sea level). The village of Huamachuco is the capitol of the province of Huamachuco, which covers an area of approximately 995 square miles. The population of the capitol Huamachuco is 26,848 and the province is 108,618.<sup>18</sup>

There are natural lakes in the region, the largest, Lake *Sausacocha* is considered to be the sacred birthplace of the first llamas and humans.<sup>19</sup> The Huamachuco village lies below the highest mountain of the region, *Cerro Porcón*. This mountain has three peaks that have mystical and divine power. Other important mountains include *Marcahuamachuco* and *Cerro Amaru*.



Map 3.1 Map of Huamachuco. Huamachuco is located at the source of the Moche River. The sacred sites *Markahuamachumo* and *Cerro Amaru* are nearby. Other regions are *Callejon de Huaylas*, Recuay site *Pashash*, and the *Santa Clara* Ruins on the coast where culture hero Catequil lived.<sup>20</sup>

Huamachuco was the homeland of a distinguished highland culture of Culli-speaking peoples. They had entered into a strong lasting alliance with the Mochica speaking people on the coast before the Chimú. Dating from c1000 to c600 BC clans of people inhabited the area. Each clan had a totem name of an animal, plant, rock, landscape, and human activity. For example, the people of the

*WamanChuri* were considered to have characteristics of the hawk, the *Llucho* with deer.<sup>21</sup> From 300 BC to 600 AD, the population lived peacefully until a violent and aggressive tribe of *Guachemines* (fishermen with arrows) came from the south, invading their lands. A native mythical/religious account<sup>22</sup> tells how the *Guachemines* forced the people of the *WamanChuri* to farm for them. The *Guachemines* captured the chief of the *WamanChuri*, who was called *Wamansiri*. During the capture, *Wamansiri* somehow secretly seduced the sister of the *Guachemines*, called *Cautaguan* and impregnated her. When her brothers found out, they murdered *Wamansiri*, burned his body, and threw the ashes into space. *Wamansiri's* relatives were moved to the Valley of *Mayao*, today known as the Santa Valley. The sister, *Cautaguan*, was guarded carefully until her child was born. She died in the delivery, leaving behind twin boys. The babies were thrown in a "garbage heap" to die. An unknown woman found them and took them to grow up with the relatives of *Wamansiri* in the Santa Valley (see figure 3.6). One boy was called *Catequil*, the other *Piquerae*. *Catequil* learned who he was and prepared to avenge his father. The weapons he trained on were two slings that had belonged to his father. According to legend, the *Wamansiri* had purposely left the slings in order to kill the *Guachemine* invaders. *Catequil*, with the slings and

with the help of all the others reconquered their old lands. The battles were bloody. *Catequil* and his followers decapitated the *Guachemines*. *Catequil* was then attributed with supernatural, divine powers and revered as an earthly representation of the god *Atagujo*. It was said that *Catequil* could cause lightning and thunder with his slings. Gradually his legend spread and powers grew throughout the Andes from Quito to Cuzco. A shrine for him was placed on the top of the mountain with three peaks called *Apocatequil* on *Cerro Porcón*. On top of the highest of the peaks a stone statue was made of *Catequil*. There he was worshipped and gave out oracles. The second peak was called *Mamacatequil* and represented his mother, *Cautagan*. The third represented his twin brother called *Piquerae*, "he who brings the rain" (see part III).

From 600 c. to 1461 AD, the ruling family of the *WamanChuri* lived on top of the mountain, *MarkaWamanChuro*, near the present-day village of Huamachuco. From the fortress built here, now in ruins, one has a view of the entire valley. *Atagujo* was still the primary divine creator of the sky and of all the universe.<sup>23</sup> *Catequil* was considered to be the representation of *Atagujo* on earth. In 1461, the Incan Empire expanded into the area of Huamachuco. The Inca built roads and buildings, as Huamachuco lay on the primary route from

Cuzco to Quito. Before the arrival of the Spaniards, Inca Yupanqui received an oracle from *Catequil*, predicting Yupanqui's future defeat. In a rage, Yupanqui smashed the mummy into four parts. The Huamachuco priests and temple servants secretly recovered the head and three parts of the body of *Catequil*, and erected him in another hidden place where he was worshipped in secret.



Figure 3.6 An aerial view of the Santa Clara ruins north of the Santa River where Catequil is said to have lived.<sup>24</sup>

When the Spanish arrived in 1532, they were received warmly by the Culli-speakers. However, the Augustinians considered the Huamachuco idols and religious practices to be “demonic,” and violently desecrated their holy places and idols. The Augustinians found *Catequil*, and in anger, ground him into powder. The

Huamachucos mourned the destruction, but knew *Catequil's* many sons and daughters were alive and well in the rocks and stones of their fields. Although the object could be destroyed, the Andean deity spirits were immortal and lived on in rocks, animals, plants, natural phenomena, astral bodies, mountains, rivers and lakes. It was not the object itself that was worshipped, but the spirit hidden inside the object.<sup>25</sup> Over a century, Christianity had made little impact and some pre-Incan observances endured.<sup>26</sup>

The Franciscan friars arrived later and wrote, "the indigenous people were of a tremendous spiritual nature, and if Saint Francisco were living, he would use the *indios* as spiritual masters." The Huamachuco religious specialists distinguished from the magicians and healers, were responsible for interpreting natural phenomena and performing rituals for their deities. Once begun, the rituals continued with much drinking of *chicha* (fermented corn beer), eating of *zanco* (corn) and festive dancing, lasting at least five days. Their rituals were described as religious activities to benefit the fertility of animals and the earth mother. Llamas were dressed as persons wearing gold and silver finery, *mantas* (fine woolen shawls),<sup>27</sup> and feathers on their heads.

Today, Huamachuco remains an important sacred center. The *caserios* are endogamous and isolate themselves from each other as clans; however, still practice reciprocal work and festival cargo mechanisms.<sup>28</sup> The primary religious festival in August to “feed the earth mother” brings dance groups, musicians and over 150,000 participants from the *caserios*, surrounding areas and the coastal villages of Moche and Huanchaco.

### ***Urban Colonial Center Trujillo.***

The urban center of Trujillo is located north of Lima, the capitol city of Peru on the coast. Trujillo becomes important in my study since it is the connecting place of transport to and from festivals. In 1535, Pizarro built the colonial town of Trujillo after the Spaniards had established a foothold in Peru. The city was founded as “their” capitol of the North and was situated next to the ancient capitol of Chan Chan. Trujillo was a central location near the potential ports of Huanchaco, Guañape and Malabrigo.<sup>29</sup> The upper part of the Moche Valley cut directly into the *sierra*, where the Spaniards found important deposits of metals. The areas of Santiago de Chuco and Huamachuco contained enormous deposits of gold and silver. There they began to mine and send the products by way of Trujillo and Huanchaco to Spain. Several centuries after Pizarro constructed Trujillo, it remained



a small, fortified city, surrounded by a city wall. Only at the turn of the twentieth century did the walls come down and the city spread, as did other cities in Peru. Today the population is roughly 860,000 and ranks third in Peru. In the Republic era, after the Wars of Independence, Trujillo was named the capitol of the *Departamento de la Libertad*, and Simon Bolivar founded the University of Trujillo.

### **MOCHICA-CHIMÚ MUSIC OVERVIEW.**

Pre-Hispanic Mochica and Chimú musical artifacts have been found in ancient graves and in pictures of instruments painted on ceramics and murals of *huacos*. Among the various instruments, were the *quena*, a flute made out of a condor wing bone, human/animal thighbone, bamboo, wood, ceramic or metal. The *zampoña* was a bamboo panpipe that came in various sizes. On a coastal *huaco*, there is a drawing of two connected panpipes implying that two musicians were required to play together.<sup>30</sup> There were various sizes of conch shell, metal, ceramic and bone trumpets. Other instruments included deer antlers, the skull of a deer, hoofs of the deer, turtle shells, drums, cymbals, whistles, bells, rattles, and bugles.

An instrument contained and immortalized the spirit of the animal, plant, or mineral material it was constructed from.<sup>31</sup> Women as well as men were musicians and dancers. Music and dance in

ceremony played an important role in the Chimú Empire. All are in use today, though in a slightly modified form. The musical scale the ancients used is difficult to determine, and does not seem to fit anything European-based. From playing and listening to<sup>32</sup> the various flutes and clay panpipes in the Chiclín museum found in Mochica graves, none of them indicated anything pentatonic, diatonic, or chromatic; most had seven or more different tones, and more tones could be created, as the holes in the flutes allowed for *glissandos* and were not stopped (definite) tones like the European.

As far as we know, the native artisans continued their crafts into colonial times, perhaps using some of the Spanish innovations. When the Spaniards came to Peru with their so-called diatonic-chromatic scale and their European instruments, these were thought to have been gradually introduced into coastal Peru. The Spanish instruments introduced were the organ, the guitar, the harp, the violin and later the clarinet. It is important to note that some of the most popular instruments brought in by the Spanish were those introduced by their Afro-Caribbean slaves. These were namely the *quijada* and the *cajón*, which were absorbed and are considered sacred by the villagers of the northwest coast of Peru today (see part III). The melodic contributions of the Spaniards are unknown. It is likely that Spanish tunes similar to

theirs became part of the native melodies, such as the musical accompaniment to the *contradanza* influenced the *marinera*. The *cajón* rhythms used, however, were of African origin.<sup>33</sup> Thus the integration of the Native, Afro-Caribbean and the Spanish elements has resulted in the present day Muchik music.

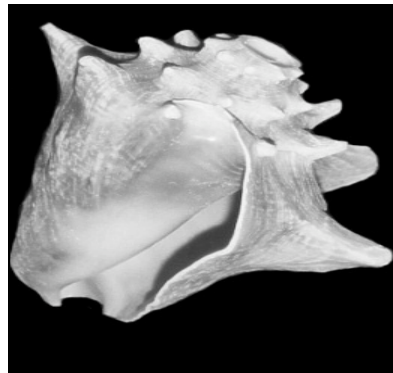


Figure 3.7 A conch trumpet similar to the one used by the *sacerdote la Maestra*.

The most unadulterated form of the Muchik music is heard during the festivals and *sacerdote* ceremonies. The sacred instruments used are the *quijada*, the *cajón*, the *chirimía*, the conch trumpet, whistles, shells or bells as jingles, the concertina, the *vihuela*, the *quena*, the *bombo*, *la lata*, and the violin. In procession and ceremony, these instruments frequently play in coordination with natural phenomena. One example is the *Diablada* dance at 4:00 p.m. or at midnight in the central palace of Chan Chan. When combined with the sound of the wind (which changes directions at these times),

a complex orchestration of sound is created. It is as if the wind, the dancers' jingles, the *quijada* and concertina become an network of melodies and rhythms on top of the constant drone of the sea waves against the shore. In Huamachuco, the religious ceremonies and dances are accompanied primarily by the *quena*, the violin, and the *caja* (see part III).

In sum, it would take years of research and experiments to try to “reconstruct” the probable sound of a pre-Hispanic or early Colonial instrument, melody or ceremony. For example, can you recreate the parrot dance from looking at figure 3.8? Any performance would be an educated guess.



Figure 3.8 Eighteenth century Martínez Campañón's rendition of a parrot dance.

### Endnotes to Chapter Three, pp 20-41

<sup>1</sup> The name *El Niño* originated with the Hunachaco fishermen of Peru. The ocean current *El Niño* arrives at the Peruvian Coast in December, before the religious Spanish celebration of Christmas. The Church obligated the fishermen to worship the Christ child (sometimes by death or torture), who is also called *El Niño*. The coincidental name is obvious. *El Niño*, the ocean current and *El Niño*, the Christ child, appear at the same time and have caused much destruction and misery for the fishermen. Ironically, *El Niño* has become the official name for the ocean current. Piminchumo, personal communication, 1996.

<sup>2</sup> Figures 3.2-3 are Michael O. Dillon photos, Andean Botanical Information System of the Field Museum, used with permission for educational use only.

<sup>3</sup> The identifying term "peasant" refers to a "social type" as well as an adjective to describe certain features of the rural productive system, i.e. self-sufficiency, dependency on unpaid household labor, a no-profit orientation. In particular, the Soviet agrarian economist Alexander Chayanov (1986) establishes that peasant households, which practice subsistence farming, tend to produce only the amount of food they need to survive. The Greek geopolitical expert Kosta Vergopoulos (1978) maintains the peasant practices almost an entirely self-sufficient economy, to the extent that if the towns and cities were to collapse from one day to the next, the peasant could survive, providing his own food, shelter, clothing and protection. Alain De Janvry (1981) explains how capitalism is impossible in the peasant society as there is no class stratification. The surplus of production is distributed within a framework of a cyclical mechanism, in which the product in labor or goods is expended for ceremonial purposes.

<sup>4</sup> Bourget, personal communication, 2006.

<sup>5</sup> See summary in author's Master's thesis 1978, Rostworowski 1973, on Chincha, and 2005 studies of North Coast fishing villages.

<sup>6</sup> It is interesting to note the native fishermen historical accounts. For example, Huanchaco historian Walter Díaz Sánchez in interview, described the origin of Huanchaco (translated freely from Spanish): "As a native of this village, I am ninety-three percent indigenous and one-hundred percent Huanchaquero. No one can doubt that the origin of this small fishing village

is remote and mysterious. No one can say that Huanchaco was founded at an exact time. So where did these great and powerful people come from? Probably Polynesia. Polynesians and Huanchaqueros have common physical and cultural traits. We both have a large face and robust body; we also use a conch shell trumpet and fish for a living. If you take the south-equatorial current of the Pacific from Polynesia, you end up at Easter Island and from there you can travel to South America. So, did different groups come at various times? To tell you the truth, the origin seems to be lost, but we will continue to ask." Antonio Rodríguez SuySuy also believes the Huanchaqueros are originally from Polynesia due to the presence of Andean products in pre-European Polynesia, such as *camote* (*Ipomoea batatas*) and *yucca*. *Sacerdote la Maestra* says Huanchaco has been occupied more than 15,000 years (see chapter 9).

<sup>7</sup> For example, there is a ritual that still exists called *pago al mar* (pay or honor the sea) in order to have good fishing. A fish is buried in the beach with its head facing the seashore, so that the fish returns. It must be buried in a secure location, one meter below the ground, taking care the turkey buzzards and sea gulls do not eat it and humans do not see it. A tiny cross made of *totorá* is placed nearby. Sometimes a part of a net is placed on the buried fish's head. The fish burial is the type of fish desired to be caught. It is believed that the fish will come and go below the water, near this burial spot. When you go fishing from this beach, you will have a good catch. The ritual implies a reciprocal relationship between man-nature, fisherman-sea and fisherman-fish.

<sup>8</sup> These are *el Cerro Campana, el Cerrito La Virgen, el Pisagua, el Buque Varado, los Totorales, el Boquerón, el Muelle* (pier), the old mansion of Víctor Larco (which he had turned into a medical clinic), the church, the sun, the reflection of the lights from Huanchaco and Trujillo (in the night sky), and the stars, the wind and the moon. The *mercado* (sacred) beaches of Huanchaco before 1950 (from north to south) are *El Palito* (borders with Santiago De Cao), *Tres Palos, Punta de la Grama, la Joyada, Tres Ventanillas, el Buque "Varao," Suchiman, los Tumbos, el Mogote, el Huancarute, la Punta del Barranco, Quibisich, el Hueso, Huanchaquito, Barro Colorado* and *el Palo Marino* (borders with village Buenos Aires). Today, in addition to the old, there are new *mercado* beaches, including *los Potos* (between *el Hueso* and *el Enseco*); *Playa Azul* (in *el Mogote*), *la Poza* (between *Quibisich* and *la Punta del Barranco*), *el Elio* (in *Huancarute*), *los Totorales* (between *el Boquerón* y *Suchiman*), *el Silencio* (between *Suchiman* and *Tres Ventanillas*), *las Tietas* (in *Huanchaquito*). Piminchumo, personal communication, 1995.

<sup>9</sup> Schaedel, personal communication, 1995.

<sup>10</sup>.Ibid.

<sup>11</sup> Bourget, personal communication, 2006.

<sup>12</sup> These pyramids testify that this region in times past was a center of human activity. The capital or center of the Mochica State was first at *Cerro Blanco*, where the village of Moche is today. As the population grew and the Chimú Empire evolved, the capital moved north to the large urban center of Chan Chan. Today, the ancient city of Chan Chan, although in ruins, distinguishes the Moche Valley from the rest of the Coast. This city was the largest of prehispanic America, and had a population of about fifty thousand. Inside the city walls were eleven huge living compounds, each surrounded by twenty to twenty-five feet high adobe walls. Outside the walls were a number of large pyramids. Archaeologist Max Uhle in the years 1899-1905 made the initial explorations of the area. Wendell Bennett (1939,1954), Richard Schaedel (1951a), Paul Kosok (1965), Dorothy Menzel (1964), Richard Keatinge (1973), Michael Mosley and Kent Day (1981), Duccio Bonavia (1985), Antonio Rodríguez SuySuy (1997), Santiago Uceda (1998), and Steve Bourget (2006) succeeded and wrote some of the important interpretations of their archaeologist results.

<sup>13</sup> I do not know the meaning of these names.

<sup>14</sup> These are, from south to north, Casma, Santa, Viru, Guanape, Chao, Moche, Huanchaco, Simbal, Huaman, Santiago de Cao, Magdalena de Cao, Paijan, Chepen, Jequetepeque, Guadalupe, San Miguel, Ferreñafe, San Pedro de Lloc, Salas, Jayanca, Motupe, Tucume, Illimo, Morrope, Reque, Santa Rosa, San José, Monsefu, Eten, Catacaos, and Simbilá.

<sup>15</sup> Squier 1877:126-7.

<sup>16</sup> Spanish for knotted or braided rope.

<sup>17</sup> Fernando Cabieses 1993:44.

<sup>18</sup> Censo 1981,1993, referenced by Mario Díaz 1995.

<sup>19</sup> There is a legend/belief that, all creatures originally came from Lake Sausacocha. Ledesma Llaury 1993.

<sup>20</sup> Map drawn by author using software Illustrator, referenced by Lau 2002.

<sup>21</sup> Ledesma Llaury 1993:19.

<sup>22</sup> Catequil was an actual man who lived and then became a culture-hero after he died. Sometimes the history and legend become mixed; transcribed by Rvdo. Agustino Juan de San Pedro 1558, referenced by Espinoza 1974.

<sup>23</sup> Espinoza 1974.

<sup>24</sup> CIA aerial photo 1954, public domain.

<sup>25</sup> Valcárcel 1925.

<sup>26</sup> MacCormack 1991: 88-102.

<sup>27</sup> These *mantas* may be similar to the “skirts” worn by the *Ingas*.

<sup>28</sup> Ledesma Llaury 1993.

<sup>29</sup> Kosok 1965.

<sup>30</sup> Today, in the *sierra* the *zampoñas* are played in pairs, as each player has either six or seven notes. The tones of the “6” fall in between those of the “7.” For example: the “6” may have notes A C E G B D : the “7” has notes G B D F# A C E. In order to play a tune you need the other complementary musician. “In a musical family when you are born it is decided whether you will be a ‘6’ or a ‘7’” says musician Edilberto Sandoval. The “7” has more notes, however it is the “6” who starts and is the leader of the song. There is a built-in balance and reciprocal process (Sandoval personal communication, 1995).

<sup>31</sup> César Boloñas, personal communication, 1995; Kosok 1965.

<sup>32</sup> Cesar Bolaños, Ana María Hoyle and author played these. Ana María Hoyle is related to Larco Hoyle, founder of the Chiclín Museum (which no longer exists) and in 1995-7 worked as Cultural Director in Trujillo.

<sup>33</sup> Chalena Vasquez 1995:8-10.



## PART II: CYCLES

### Chapter 4: Festival Cycles

#### OVERVIEW.

To some extent, every farmer and fisherman is engaged in the process of tuning into the natural presences that influence daily life. During their religious festivals, the fishermen and farmers are determined to bind the seasonal, ecological, cultural, mythical, musical and dance cycles together. The tool they use is reciprocal exchange. Their reciprocity is a flowing recycling force and cannot be broken.

*Sacerdote Anhuamán* explained the reason. "It is like this: if you respect and care for only one person, yourself, you will die, but if you respect and care for each other, you will live for a long time." Their exchange goes beyond the bartering of material goods. It is intensely personal and spiritual, grounded in respect and responsibility. All beings and forces have a place within this circle.<sup>1</sup> The Muchik negotiate many circles and cycles, I will focus on those related to reciprocity in sacred ceremonies.<sup>2</sup>

## **CYCLICAL REDISTRIBUTION.**

Today, the rural societies of the Muchik maintain a cyclical redistributive process. This process takes place in a network of long-term communal relationships and sense of obligations that are based on care, respect and trust. The Muchik distribute their surplus within the framework of a cyclical process and the festival cycle. Reciprocity in ritual is the formulation of Muchik spiritual vitality, and has existed over 4000 years. Richard P. Schaedel traced the historical origins of the festival cycle and states:

A cyclical exchange system was developed and existed within the Mochica villages from the beginning of food production c. 2500 BC to 500 AD. Later the Chimú state (c. 500AD to 1460AD), further institutionalized the coordination of religious and political offices, and unified control of surplus resources and manpower of the population. Whatever the commonalities between the reciprocal agencies of the present day ritual cycle and the Mochica-Chimú can only be speculated upon. However, the pattern of exchange exists, separate from the impositions of the Colonial powers.<sup>3</sup>

The individuals of the Muchik peasant societies are specialists in a craft or product such as fish, maize, or weaving. With each specialization there are always times of plenty and times of scarcity. The interdependency of the villagers is built in. Yet, it is not merely an exchange of goods, it is a reaffirmation about the way things work and how life is valued and enhanced with deep-rooted traditions of

ceremonial participation. More than that it is an exchange and dialogue with the Muchik cosmic deities.

The cultural persistence of the festival cycles is maintained by the *sacerdotes andinos*. They are the ones who direct the sacred ceremonies and explain why things work the way they do (see part III – Microcosm). The *sacerdotes'* sources of spiritual power function to establish communal health and to connect to a larger spiritual community. In this process, the ceremonial dances and exchange of goods as gifts are an essential part of the reciprocity that helps them live well for a long time. The precise time and place of the festival is crucial.<sup>4</sup>

#### **CEREMONIAL CYCLE PATTERNS.**

Configurations of time and space are important in the Muchik festival cycles. The cosmic world of the fishermen and farmers includes forces and sacred beings of the sky world (moon, stars, etc.), the earth world (planting, harvest, etc.), and the sea world (ocean currents, wind, etc.). Each of these worlds operates on a distinctive cycle and rhythm, which interconnect at a critical time and place. This is the date and location of the festival.

In order to take a closer look at the persistence and emergence<sup>5</sup> of cyclical festival mechanism, I have isolated and organized important coastal festivals into three different ceremonial cycles.<sup>6</sup> I have named these<sup>7</sup> a) the Macro Cycle, which covers the entire Muchik area from Casma to Piura. The festivals within the Macro Cycle are enormous, with number of participants ranging from 100,000 to 250,000 or more devoted pilgrims from the Muchik villages and the *sierra*; b) the Mini-Macro Cycle which includes a smaller area defined either as a particular river valley complex or by occupation. Festivals within this cycle are also the most important and populous within the designated area; and c) the Micro Cycle, which is the yearly festival cycle particular to each village. In the following cycle grids I briefly correlate the astral event with the ecological and human farming or fishing events.

### **Macro Festival Cycle.**

*Macro Cycle: First Festival.* The Macro Cycle begins<sup>8</sup> in November at the time of the full moon and when the Pleiades<sup>9</sup> are high above in the night sky. The festival takes place either in Huanchaco (every fifth year) and either in Simbal or Otuzco (other four years). This is a time of plenty for the fishermen and a time of scarcity for the farmers. The

rains begin to fall in the *sierra* and fill the rivers. The irrigation canals are cleaned and the ground is being prepared for planting.

*Macro Cycle: Second Festival. Carnival* in Cajamarca is the second festival in the Macro Cycle and takes place for a month in February. February is an idle month for coastal farmers who are waiting for their crops to grow, and a harvest month in the *sierra*. The full moon and position of the Pleiades are also critical to the timing of this ceremony. The Muchik *sacerdotes* say this festival is the *despidida* (saying farewell) to the Pleiades before they leave the night sky.

*Macro Cycle: Third Festival.* The third and last festival in this cycle takes place at the Cruz de Chalpón in Motupe. It occurs from the end of July to the end of August and coincides with the big harvest in Motupe. There is a smaller harvest on the coast (*Valle Baja*) where fishing is poor and the sea is rough. The central day is designated by the day of the full moon and the return of the Pleiades star cluster on the western horizon.

The Tables 4.1 – 4.6 illustrate the interconnections of the cosmic, ecological and Macro Festival Cycle. At the festival times, the reciprocal *trueque*<sup>10</sup> (exchange of goods) occurs.

<b>Date</b>	<b>Location</b>	<b>Area</b>	<b>Activity</b>
Nov. - Dec	Huanchaco	Fish/Agr. (coast)	Ward off <i>El Niño</i>
February	Cajamarca	Agr. ( <i>sierra</i> )	<i>Despidida</i> of the Pleiades
July- Aug	Motupe	Agr. (coast)	Harvest for <i>sierra</i> and coast

**Table 4.1 Macro Festival Cycle**

### **Mini-Macro Festival Cycle.**

The Mini-Macro Cycle can be broken into three groups. These are the areas of (1) Mini-Micro-South of the Moche-Virú-Chao valley cluster, (2) the Mini-Macro-North of the Lambayeque-Jequetepeque-Chicama valley cluster, and (3) all of the fishing villages as a community.<sup>11</sup>

1) THE MINI-MICRO-SOUTH FESTIVAL CYCLE is limited by the Moche-Viru-Chao valley cluster. If we begin in November, the festival cycle follows this pattern:

<b>Date</b>	<b>Location</b>	<b>Area</b>	<b>Activity</b>
December 12	Viru	Agr. (coast)	pray for rain clean the canals
January 27	Simbal	Agr. ( <i>sierra</i> )	harvest of coca
April-May	Moche	Agr. (coast)	big harvest
July 25	Santiago de Chuco	Agr. ( <i>sierra</i> )	big harvest
August 15	Huamachuco	Agr. ( <i>sierra</i> )	big harvest

**Table 4.2 Mini-Macro-South Festival Cycle**

2) THE MINI-MACRO-NORTH FESTIVAL CYCLE is in the Lambayeque-Jequetepeque-Chicama valley cluster, with festivals in the following villages:

<b>Date</b>	<b>Location</b>	<b>Area</b>	<b>Activity</b>
December 9	Guadalupe	Agr. (coast)	pray for rain, clean the canals
January 3	Mochumi	Agr. (coast)	planting
May 10	Morrope	Artisan (coast)	
June 24	Chiclín	Agr. (coast)	big harvest
September 14	Monsefú	Agr. (coast)	little harvest

**Table 4.3 Mini-Macro-North Festival Cycle**

3) THE FESTIVAL OF THE FISHING VILLAGES is a festival common to all fishing villages. The fishermen celebrate either individually or in community on the same day. This is the festival for San Pedro, on June 28. June is the season when the Pleiades return and when fishermen survive primarily on crabs. Crabs are honored by the fishermen, and the wooden figure of San Pedro holding crabs, nets and fish, is taken in procession onto the sea sailing in a large *patacho* (reed boat). The fishing villages in this cycle include Puerto Santa, Puerto Casma, Salmanco, Playa de los Chimus, Tortugas, Guañape, Las Delicias, Huanchaco, Puerta Chicama, San José, Santa Rosa, Puerto Eten and Chuliyachi.<sup>12</sup>

### Micro Festival Cycle.

The third distinctive festival cycle is the Micro Cycle and includes all of the festivals of the individual villages. For example, the Micro Cycle of festivals in the fishing village of Huanchaco is:

Date	Festival	Activity
Nov.-Dec (every 5th yr.)	Mamita del Socorro	Plenty of fish unless <i>El Niño</i> appears
Month of Feb (other 4 yrs.)	Mamita del Socorro	Plenty of fish unless <i>El Niño</i> appears
April	Semana Santa	Less fish - small harvest
June	Senor de Huaman	Crabs, Pleiades return
June 24	San Pedro	Crabs, Pleiades return

**Table 4.4      Micro Festival Cycle of Huanchaco**

The Micro Cycle of festivals in Moche is:

Date	Festival	Activity
December 13	"La Mocherita"	Pray for rain
January 6	De los Reyes	Clean canals, prepare for planting
mid April	Semana Santa	Before harvest
April-May	San Isidro	Big harvest
May 15	De la Cruz	Harvest & curing
June 29	Corpus	Planting for second harvest
August 30	Santa Rosa	Curing
Sept	Exaltación	Small harvest
October 15	Cristo Rey	Small harvest
November 30	Todos Santos	Honor the dead

**Table 4.5      Micro Festival Cycle of Moche**



The Micro Cycle of festivals in Huamachuco is:

<b>Date</b>	<b>Festival</b>	<b>Activity</b>
Jan 1-Feb 2	Levantads & Births	Rainy season, plant corn, zapallo, yuca
Feb - Mar	Carnival	After planting- fertility for llama
April	One kilometer procession with Christ figure on <i>burro</i>	Tending crops and herds of llama, alpaca
May 1	Floreacer-to <i>cerro</i> Cacanán & Sazón	Waiting for crops
1st Sun. May	Fatíma	
3rd Sun May	Paranshique	
4th Sun May	Señor de Humildad	Beginning of big harvest
June 13	Colpa - Padua	Dry season
June 19	Puente Piedra	Birthing of llamas
July 16	El Toro - Carmen	Big harvest
July 29	Ceremony for Palo	Corn harvest
August 12-20	Alta Gracia	Big harvest
September 15	Aricapampa	Plant potatoes, quinoa, camote
September 24	Cruz Colorado	Equinox-spring
October 8	Choquizongullo	Small harvest
November 1	Santos y Difuntos	Cleaning and repair canals

**Table 4.6 Micro Festival Cycle of Huamachuco**

### **Muchik Mapping of Ceremonial Cycle.**

The Festival Cycle Grids represent one way to present the cycles. In 1997, the villagers in Moche and Huanchaco preferred the “geometric botanical depiction of plant behavior” to exemplify their festival cycles (see table 4.7). In this diagram, the top inner smaller cycle represents the Micro Cycle, the larger cycles the Mini-Macro, and the largest the Macro Ceremonial cycle. The radiating lines from the

center of the largest cycle are the designated events of the ceremonial time.



**Table 4.7**      **Muchik festival cycle diagram**<sup>13</sup>

There are at least three separate, equal sections that appear to be different, yet are connected at the center point and form a complete harmonious shape. The center point is the belief system.

## Endnotes to Chapter Four, pp 46-55.

<sup>1</sup> Reciprocity is actually very complex; I offer only a succinct explanation.

<sup>2</sup> These chapters on the festival cycles are also set up to provide suggestions for future research. The festival is a time the villages are open to everyone. They are public events.

<sup>3</sup> Schaedel, 1995.

<sup>4</sup> *Sacerdote* Anhumán, personal communication, 1996.

<sup>5</sup> See also, Gary Urton, 1981 and 1988 on calendrical cycles in Pacariqtambo, southern Andes.

<sup>6</sup> There are many more than three; however for the dissertation I will list the three main ones. These cycles may also suggest possibilities for future research projects.

<sup>7</sup> Rodríguez SuySuy, 1995, personal communication.

<sup>8</sup> This beginning is for the dissertation only; the villagers consider the cycles to be continuous, without beginning or end (Anhumán, personal communication 1995).

<sup>9</sup> The Pleiades are important and are discussed in more detail later.

<sup>10</sup> *Trueque* originated as a pre-Hispanic means of exchange and reciprocal mechanism. Today, the system works as follows: when farmer A has a harvest, at the festival, farmer A will give fisherman B sacks of produce. Then, when fisherman B has a great fishing season, at the festival, fisherman B will reciprocate and give farmer A sacks of dried fish and seafood. By this method there is a guarantee of sustenance without money. Usually the exchange takes place between fictive kin or *compadres* and reinforces long-standing social relationships.

<sup>11</sup> These cycles may overlap; the definitions are for a basic understanding of the festival cycle at a rudimentary level.

<sup>12</sup> In recent years this village was flooded, and is presently being rebuilt.

<sup>13</sup> Drawing by author using software Illustrator, referenced from Adams and Whicher, 1960: 65.

## Chapter 5 Configurations of Time

### OVERVIEW

The Muchik fishermen and farmers are *chronos sapiens*; human beings preoccupied with time and rhythm. These natural rhythms include cycles of human life, the sun, the moon, the seasons, the ocean and wind currents, and weather patterns are critical.

It is the *sacerdotes andinos* who maintain the crucial balance of these cycles, and they are required to communicate in ceremony with the cosmic deities. The fishermen and farmers view natural calamity as an indication of being out of sync with the mandate of sky, earth and sea worlds. For example, if the rains are late in coming, or a member of the family is extremely ill, it is assumed to be due to a “ritual error” on the part of either the entire community or an individual of the village. In order to please the deities, the festival is an offering performed in their honor.

### COSMIC CYCLES.

The time of the Muchik festival is defined by many events in the night sky. Most important are the phases of the moon and the yearly astral movement of the star cluster the Pleiades.

*Sacerdote* Anhuamán explains why the moon is revered:

On the coast, *si*, the moon deity is worshiped, the moon woman-mother is married to the sun man-father. Their royal court is the stars in the night sky, and their child is the earth. Every morning, the couple separates, and at night they are reunited, except for the full moon. The full moon reigns alone as the sun goes to rest in the sacred *huacas* and *cerros*. The full moon is a lucky, powerful time, reserved for *sacerdotes* to make divinations. At one time, there was even a romance between the moon and a *sacerdote*,<sup>1</sup> but this is another matter.

The daily life of the Muchik depends on events in the night sky. Fishing and the growing of corn took place at night. The planting and harvest cycles, the cycle of *sierra* rainfall, the cycle of ocean currents, tides, colors of the water, the fluctuating wind and fog patterns, and the coming of *El Niño* are all determined by events in the night sky. Below are examples of this interconnection.

### **Moon Cycle.**

During a full moon, fishing is avoided as the fish can see the cast nets by the bright light of the moon. The fishermen prefer the darkness of the new moon. Depending on the position and phase of the moon, fishermen can tell when is a good time to enter the sea. The farmers ritualize the fertility cycle for both humans and plants. The gestation of the human child and duration from the first planting and harvest are both around nine months. The festivals at the time of planting are festivals of the Virgin. These are *Festival de la Virgen de*

*los Dolores* in Virú, *de la Virgen de Santa Lucía* in Moche, *de la Virgen de Socorro* in Huanchaco, and *de la Virgen de la Puerta* in Otuzco. Nine months later are the festival of harvest, of the *Señor*. These are *la Festival del Señor de San Isidro* in Moche, *del Señor de San Pedro* in Huanchaco, and *del Señor de Humuldad* in Huamachuco. The meaning is a fertility blessing as well as an insurance for a successful harvest.

The farmers plant corn on raised beds during the new moon for a good harvest. The farmers have developed meteorological predictions depending on the horn tip of the half moon. During the months between September and December, if the left horn tip of the ascending half moon (to the south) rises above the right horn tip on the right (northern), there will be more rain in the *sierra*.

### **Pleiades Cycle.**

The other revered and sacred astral timekeepers are the Pleiades, the *Siete Cabrillas* (Spanish), or *Fur* (Mochica).<sup>2</sup> They are a star cluster of thousands of stars. Within the cluster, a group of seven stars are recognizable as twinkling, bright blue stars.<sup>3</sup> The yearly cycle of the Pleiades begins around the middle of May, when the sun is aligned between the earth and the stars of the Pleiades. Due to their close proximity to the sun, the stars of the Pleiades are not visible for thirty-seven days from mid-May to the end of June. When the

Pleiades “return,” they are seen on the horizon, rising at dawn. In the Western world, this is called the heliacal rising of the Pleiades. For the Muchik, it is a sacred rebirth and is celebrated during the *Corpus Christi* and *Señor de San Pedro* festivals. If the Pleiades seem hazy when they return, rain in December is predicted to be less. If they are bright, rainfall will be plenty. Depending on the position of the brightest star, in June, *El Niño* can be predicted. And they are never wrong<sup>4</sup> (see endnote for explanation).

Gradually, the Pleiades move across the night sky. In November, the earth is aligned between the sun and the Pleiades. The stars of the Pleiades can be seen directly overhead<sup>5</sup> in the sky for nearly the entire duration of the darkness of night. The Muchik *sacerdote* says, “The energy of the Pleiades is most directly available in November and December.” It is the moment for fishermen and farmers to ward off the evils of *El Niño*. It indicates the rain will come and the farmers need to clean and repair the irrigation canals for the first planting. In February the Pleiades star cluster is near the horizon, in the west<sup>6</sup> at sunset. *Carnival* festivals are organized as *Despididas* (farewell) ceremonies so the stars will return with good news.



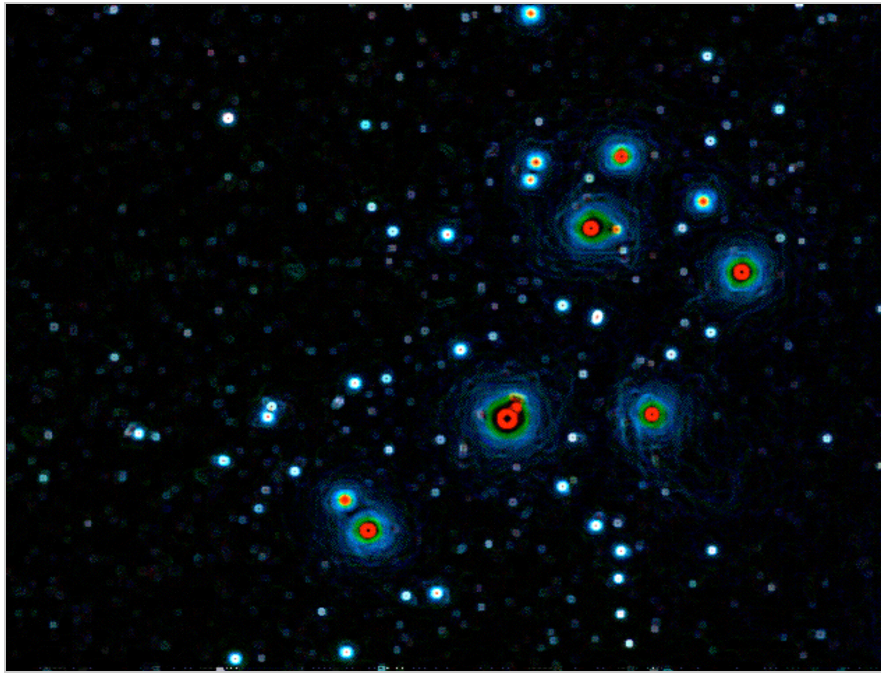


Figure 5. 1 The Pleiades.<sup>7</sup>

Another Pleiadian cycle involves the planet Venus. After sunset on April 2, 1996, Venus could be seen close to the Pleiades. This happens only once in every eight years. On this day, several *sacerdotes andinos* from Moche and Huanchaco held a secret festival on the island off the coast from Guañape to thank the island for protecting them. In the *sierra* village of Huamachuco, the Pleiades are revered as a pile of seeds in need of planting and new born *wawas* (children).<sup>8</sup> They are the protectors of *Atagujo* (creator god). The rising Pleiades determine the time for planting.<sup>9</sup>

**Other Cosmic Cycles.**

Other important cycles include Sirius, the Dog Star, considered to be a guardian, and the Giant Ray Fish (Southern Cross) which shows the fishermen where to fish. When the Giant Ray Fish is embedded in a very bright portion of the Giant Feline Serpent (the Milky Way), festivals celebrate the event. The farmers see the Southern Star as a Condor or large bird, which sometimes devours the Serpent-Milky Way. The festivals of the Cruz in May honor these occasions, especially when the Southern Cross is at the highest point of the sky. Another important Huamachuco constellation is the warrior-god *Catequil* with his sling. <sup>10</sup>In Huamachuco, December is the time their ancestors make their yearly return to earth by the llama-branch of the Milky Way. As the sacred springs flow from the surrounding mountains, two man-made channels have been made (representing the Milky Way) to recycle the water into the Sausacocha Lake.

IN SUM, time for the Muchik is measured by referencing celestial bodies, natural events and human activity. The festival is a spatio-temporal event; the next chapter discusses the Muchik configurations of space.

## Endnotes to Chapter Five, pp. 58-63

<sup>1</sup> This is reenacted as the coastal festivals begin at the time of the full moon with a private shamanistic ritual near a *huaca*. *Sacerdote* Anhuamán, personal communication, 1995.

<sup>2</sup> Rodríguez SuySuy prefers the Mochica *Fur*.

<sup>3</sup> Sometimes they are affectionately called unruly children when they first appear (Díaz Sánchez, personal communication, 1995).

<sup>4</sup> In fact, recently, Western scientists from UC Davis in the past 20 years have realized what the indigenous cultures knew for over 400 years. "For centuries, Andean farmers in Peru and Bolivia have monitored the brightness of Pleiades stars to determine when to plant crops for optimal rainfall. When the Pleiades cluster is particularly bright or when it appears to be large, Andean villagers anticipate earlier and more abundant rains and larger harvests, while the opposite is linked with less clear skies. If poor rains are predicted, the farmers postpone planting," say Orlove and his colleagues. Using the satellite data, the researchers found that thin clouds above the earth's surface occur more frequently in *El Niño* years than in *La Niña* years. These additional clouds in *El Niño* years block some of the light from the Pleiades. This shift is sufficient to visibly reduce the apparent brightness of the Pleiades in *El Niño* years." (Benjamin S. Orlove-UC Davis, in *Nature Journal*, 2000:68-71.)

<sup>5</sup> At this point, they are considered adults (Díaz Sánchez, personal communication, 1995).

<sup>6</sup> In February they are the Ancient ones, the grandmothers and grandfathers, who will die and be reborn (ibid).

<sup>7</sup> Drawn by author with software Illustrator.

<sup>8</sup> *Wawa* is Quechua for baby.

<sup>9</sup> For comparison see William Sullivan, 1996:14-15.

<sup>10</sup> See Waldemar Espinoza, 1974: 33-43.



## Chapter 6: Configurations of Space

### OVERVIEW

The Muchik *sacerdotes* describe the realms of the sky, earth and sea as a continuum. They know the mysterious way to pass from one cosmic region to another.<sup>1</sup> The celestial deities are able to transfer their spirit into an animal, plant, lake, mountain, river or stone. In a reciprocal manner, earthly beings, humans, animals, plants and objects can change imaginatively into another being, acquire powers and attributes, and function on the earth and in the sky. For the Muchik, every place, every star, every mountain, every tree, every stone, every blade of grass, every animal, every person, etc. has an essence, a purpose, and like a piece of cloth, is carefully interwoven and connected. The Muchik ritual geography of significant places in religious festivals is complex, so I will limit my discussion to those the *sacerdotes* suggested were most important.

These places are generally called *huacas*.<sup>2</sup> A clear definition of *huaca* is complicated, as a *huaca* is not only an existing place but also the presence of mind created by the spirit of the *huaca*. It is any sacred place or spirit related to the mythical origins and ancestors of a community and a cultural hero or creator agent. This can be a cave,

mountain, crag, lake, the actual bones of an ancestor, and/or the essence of the ancestor manifested in a stone, idol, animal or plant.<sup>3</sup> The *huacas* have a range of destructive and protective powers that directly affect the socio-economic well being of humans. Each village has its characteristic *huacas*. The predominate village *huaca* is a guardian mountain, which is a living spirit and home for the ancestor spirits.<sup>4</sup> These sacred space-spirits are “alive.” The Muchik have conversations with and share their *chicha* and food with the mountains, the stones and the islands, etc. The *sacerdotes* say the wooden staffs, conch shells, and other objects in their *mesas* are not symbols. These objects are a part of the *sacerdote*. The staff, the conch shell, etc. are personified.<sup>5</sup>

### **HUACAS IN HUANCHACO**

In Huanchaco, the ancestral *huacas* live in ancient ruins of *Xilang-Xilang*<sup>6</sup> (Chan Chan). In interviews with several of the *sacerdotes andinos* of Huanchaco, in particular, *La Guadaña*,<sup>7</sup> *La Pata*, *La Botija*, *El Cántaro*, *La Chancha*, *El Huaco*, *Mamita Maurcia* (reincarnated) and the historian/fisherman J. Walter Díaz Sánchez, the most important *huacas* in *Xilang-Xilang* are the adobe temples *Yawuan*, *Peje Grande*, *Peje Chico*, *La Huaca Barro Colorado*, *La Huaca del Esmeralda* and *La Huaca de Concha*. *Yawuan* is the spirit of the

wall that encircles the entire city of *Xilang-Xilang* (see figure 6.1). The wall is a symbolic giant wave called *Taska* by the fishermen. The spirit of the *Yawuan* will protect the fishermen from the tidal wave that occurs every thirty to fifty years. This wall is six feet wide and twenty to twenty-five feet high and was constructed from clay, broken pieces of pottery, saltpeter and *guano* (bird droppings) from off-shore islands. It was built out of respect of the *Taska*, so that the spirit of the wave (*Yawuan*) could live within the wall and not cause damage to the homes of the Huanchaqueros and tombs of their ancestors.<sup>8</sup> These revered ancestors are from the pre-Hispanic royal families of Huamanchumu, Piminchumu, Ucanañe, Chay Huac, Huamanchauca and Chilmaza. Their spirits live in the *huacas* of *Peje Grande* and *Peje Chico*.<sup>9</sup> One of the *huacas* is said to contain the spirit of huge golden fish with emerald eyes that was carried in ritual procession before the Spanish arrived. The golden fish is also the *huaca* of the ancestral spirit of the last powerful Chimú king, *El Gran Chimo-Capac del Régulo Chimú Chumuncacho*.



Figure 6.1      *Taska* is giant wave-wall which encircles *Xilang-Xilang* (Chan Chan). The spirit of the wave called *Yawuan* lives inside the wall to guard against damage caused by the wave to homes and ancestors' tombs (1995).

There are *huacas* (sacred places and spirits) within the natural landscape. In addition to the guardian mountains mentioned previously, there are *huacas* of astral, water and atmospheric aspects, such as *Arco Iris* (rainbow), *Si* (moon), *Ni* (sea), *Fur* (Pleiades), and *Couche* (wind).<sup>10</sup> *Huaca*-plants include *Huachuma* or *San Pedro*<sup>11</sup> (cactus with mescaline), *la reine ayahuasca* (hallucinogenic plant of the jaguar spirit), *tatora* reeds and many other secret ones. Some of the animal *huacas* are the *anzumito* (sea otter), *puma* (jaguar), giant serpent, *fanu* (dog) and, *murrup* (lizard).<sup>12</sup>

It is important for *sacerdotes* and the villagers to have good relationships with wild animals, especially those who instinctively



dislike humans. These connections are the mystical foundation of natural and supernatural realms. The animals' *huaca* spirits are friends who offer aid. Their essence enters and transforms inside the *sacerdotes* and villagers in ritual. For example, a Condor spirit will aid in flight. The *sacerdotes* and villagers are not possessed by the spirit; they are communicating with it interpreting the animal spirit's desires and actions. *Huacas* are found in man-made wooden and metal idols and staffs. The wooden staffs, the saint figures and other wooden objects are made from trees. Trees are sacred partly because they live in three worlds: the underground, the earth and the sky.<sup>13</sup> Particular staffs are *Mama Collo* (the earth mother), *Siento de los Gentiles* (the staffs of the gentiles of fishermen), *Curacas* (ruling class), *Mochicas* (Mochica ancestors), and *Chimú* (ancestors of the Chimú). Important *huacas* live in mountains called *los Cerros Encantados* (the enchanted mountains). Famous ancestral *huaca sacerdotes* live inside *Cerro Purgatorio*, *Viejo Tucúme*, Lambayeque (see map in appendix D). Lakes can be *huacas*. *La Laguna de Huaranga*, upvalley from Piura is the sacred lake for the initiation of the *sacerdotes*. There are also stones, seashells and pearls, which hold secret mystical essences. These *huacas* among others are honored during the Huanchaco

festival, *Gran Huanchaquito*, *la Mamita* and the *sacerdote* initiation ceremony.

### **HUACAS IN MOCHE.**

Moche *Sacerdotes* from the families of Anhumán, Azabache, Asmat, Huamanchumo, Suysuy, Sechún, Ñique, Sicche, Chumán and Quesquén explained some of their *huacas*, which are honored at the harvest festival of the *huaca* spirit of *el Mochero agricultor San Isidro*. In addition to the *Cerro Blanco*, the *Huacas de la Luna y del Sol*, the principle *acequías* (water canals),<sup>14</sup> and the *Río Moche*, there are astral, landscape and seascapes *huacas* similar to those in Huanchaco.<sup>15</sup>

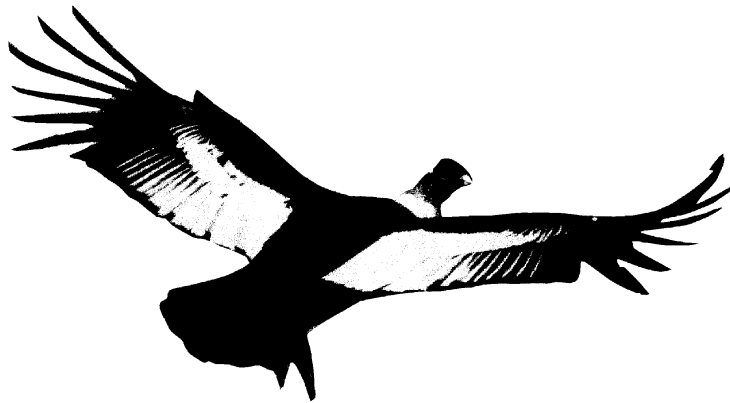


Figure 6.2                      The Condor is an Andean sky deity.<sup>16</sup>

### **HUACAS IN HUAMACHUCO.**

The Families Quispecóndor, Tulmaca, Cuenca, Chusgón, and Apo-Cóndor assisted me in gathering the following information about the sacred *huacas*. The astral *huacas* are *Atagujo* or *Apo Con Ticse Huiraa* (Creator god),<sup>17</sup> *Catequil*, the Pleiades, Venus, rain, wind, and ones mentioned in chapter 3.<sup>18</sup> The geographical and spiritual spaces of Huamachuco have a mixture of pre-Incan and Incan references.<sup>19</sup>

IN SUM, for the villagers of Huanchaco, Moche and Huamachuco, all time and space are interrelated. Everything exists for a reason, whether astral or terrestrial, ceremonial or secular, human or nonhuman. There are no accidents, only misunderstandings and unknowns.

## Endnotes to Chapter Six, pp 65-71

<sup>1</sup> *Sacerdote* Anhuamán, personal communication, 1995. *Sacerdotes* go through many years of rigorous training.

<sup>2</sup> Also spelled as *guaca*, *uaca*, and *w'aka*.

<sup>3</sup> Tello, 1923:39-45.

<sup>4</sup> *Sacerdotes* call the top of the guardian mountain the *eje del universo* (axis point of the universe). It is the place where the supreme divinities and humans communicate. If there is no natural mountain in the coastal village, the villagers make one, *Sacerdote* Azabache personal communication, 1995.

<sup>5</sup> They are tired of anthropologists calling them symbols, *Sacerdotes La Maestra*, Anhuamán, and Azabache personal communication 1996.

<sup>6</sup> *Xilang-Xilang* is the sacred word the fishermen use for Chan Chan, Díaz Sánchez, personal communication, 1995.

<sup>7</sup> The *sacerdotes* in Huanchaco are known by nicknames; in Moche and Huamachucho they are identified by family name.

<sup>8</sup> The fishermen have established a reciprocal relationship with the wave. They will honor the destructive wave, so the wave will not cause harm to their ancestors; Walter Sánchez Díaz, personal communication, 1996.

<sup>9</sup> These *huacas* lie adjacent to *la Huaca de Toledo* and *la Huaca del Obispo*, labeled by archaeologists Uhle and Tello.

<sup>10</sup> Interesting to note that the word for "wind" is similar to the *conche* (couch shell trumpet).

<sup>11</sup> It is not by coincidence that San Pedro is both the cactus and patron saint of the fishermen.

<sup>12</sup> The list of *huacas* and the names beside the English were provided by the *sacerdotes*. A linguistic analysis of the words and their origins is beyond my training.

<sup>13</sup> The *sacerdotes* use the essence of the wooden staffs in their ceremonial *mesas* to communicate with divinities; Cabieses 1993: 140.

<sup>14</sup> The *Acequía Mochica*, with *Ramales* (branches): *Menocucho*, *Los Muertos*, *el Sún*, *Wichansao* and the smaller *Sub-Ramales*: *el Orcón*, *el Orconcito*, *el Sechún*, *el Cadillac*, *el Huartaco*, and *Chanquin Alto* are considered to contain living spirits of their ancestors.

<sup>15</sup> These are Venus, the younger brother to the sun, the Dog Star, rain, lightning, and thunder of the astral region. Influential animal and plant *huacas* are the iguana who is in love with the planet Venus, the albatross, the Mochica duck, black bird of the night, the frog, the deer, the fox, the serpent that protects every farm, Fanu (dog), *Buhu* (owl), *Choclo* (corn), Chicha (corn beer), Ong (algarroba tree), San Pedro cactus, *Ayahuasca* plant that houses the jaguar spirit, and Yuca, a type of tuber. There are many more connected to the legends and events of the religious festivals.

<sup>16</sup> Drawn by author with software Illustrator.

<sup>17</sup> He is not really a creator deity, he is more of an intervener, *La Maestra*, personal communication, 1996.

<sup>18</sup> My *commadre* thinks all of Peru is a *huaca*. The *sacerdotes* want me to list them all and not leave any out, so I will put many of them in the endnotes.

*Huacas* had distinct names. *Guallio* was for the weavers, *quispeguanayai* also for the weavers, specifically for their colored dyes to work well, and *guagualmojon* was a woman surrounded by ten children for fertility. Other *huacas* included the *llaga* or deer, worshipped in order to dispell the evils of vanity. The idol of the deer consisted of many deer bones. *Atoñ* was the fox, worshipped so no harm would come to corn harvests. The fox idol was a fox-mummy, with intestines removed, and dried in the sun. It was dressed in a black shawl to look like a widow, a crown was put on its head, and his mouth was stuffed with corn and *chicha*, so he would not harm the corn plants. These idols lived inside rocks, caves and mountains. Before the arrival of the Inca, the *Wamanchucos* worshipped the sun, as a protector of their life. The moon was important in agricultural work cycles. Stars especially the Pleiades protected and lived close to god, *Atagujó*. The planet Venus, as morning and evening star was considered to be brothers. *Chucumama* was the 'mother earth' worshipped for the life of all humans, plants and animals.

*Paquinoc* was the deity, which created the *cuy*. *Mamaazua* was worshipped when the women made *chicha*, so it came out well. *Mama Ucho* was for the *ají* (hot pepper). *Illa* were stones found inside a deer's stomach, which were

kept in small bags. The *Illa Llama*, stones found inside the llama's stomach, were kept so the llamas would reproduce in abundance.

<sup>19</sup> The Incan influence was the reinforcement of the pantheist religion: *Chucumama* (Mother Earth), the *Apo* (Mountain spirit), *Uram* (River spirit), including *huacas* connected to astronomical sightings. There is a definite symmetry, opposition, repetition and subordination of Bi, Tri and Fourth partitions. The duality is established in the province division of Huamachuco into the *Hanansuyo* (upper) and *Hurinsuyo* (lower) sections. Four mountain *huacas*: *Cerro de Marca Huamachuco*, *Cerro del Castillo*, *Cerro Amaru* and *Cerro Viejo* astrologically divided the area into four. Within each *Garanga* (sub divisions of the province), there are multiples of three. The *huacas* in each Huaranca are those particular to that group. The dance group of the *Ingas* and *Ñustas* come from the Paranshique of Huaranca *Llampa*. The *huaca* of *Llampa* signifies "the most pure," "the most brilliant," and "the superior ones."

### **PART III: ORDERING OF THE MICROCOSM**

#### **Chapter 7: Mythohistory and the Collective Memory of the Muchik**

##### **MUCHIK MEMORY.**

This section introduces the collected myths and analysis, which I will compare to specific religious music and dance events from the three communities of Huanchaco, Moche and Huamachuco. I first discuss how the Muchik define our terms of “ethnohistory,” “mythohistory” and “myth.” Following are the Spanish transcription and English translations of origin myths and myths that explain cultural and natural phenomena with a limited analysis.

##### **Muchik Definition of Ethnohistory.**

For the Muchik<sup>1</sup>, *ethnohistory* can be defined as “the people’s own sense of how events are constituted, and their ways of culturally constructing the past.”<sup>2</sup> The Muchik oral-based cultures have their own (autonomous) history, similar to the “history proper” (*historia propia*).<sup>3</sup> It is a history based on a people’s own historical consciousness of their social reality, which they have interpreted, constructed, reproduced, and transformed, especially in moments of struggle toward cultural resistance and survival.<sup>4</sup> As such, it is a history that gives legitimacy

and claim to their own identity and territoriality.<sup>5</sup> History is “myth,” and is kept and guarded by the Muchik *sacerdotes andinos*. The *sacerdotes andinos* are the custodians of tradition and the upholders of the group’s moral code.<sup>6</sup> In addition, they are directly responsible for the organization and performance of the Muchik ritualized dances, music and drama.<sup>7</sup>

### **Muchik Definition of Mythohistory and Memory.**

The *mythohistory* of the Muchik is based on their “collective memory.” It is a memory that is passed on, conserved and retained as the secret of their culture, and links the history of their ancestors to heroes, origin and legend. Memory is relived during the religious festivals as each dance step, choreography, music and song is repeated year after year, exactly within a prescribed “ancestral” act and meaning. Yet this memory can and does evolve, as it brings the past to the present. If the memory is to be used effectively and magically, it chooses only suitable facts. “Memory is blind to all to but the group it binds.”<sup>8</sup> There are as many memories as there are groups. Memory is by nature multiple and yet specific, a collective plural, and yet individual. Memory takes root in the concrete, in spaces, gestures, images and objects. Memory is absolute.



Such collective memory lives within the Muchik. Certain prehistoric, geographical, archaeological sites and *huacas* enable the Muchik to map a hierarchy and a lineage. They are able to imagine every possible classification, whether concrete or intellectually elaborate and symbolic. At first, what seems to be an endless array of names of places, groups, *huacas* and *cerros* are actually triggering mechanisms for their memory and mythohistory. Through memory, every piece of information is instantly cross-correlated with every other piece of information. *Sacerdote* Anhuamán explains further about Muchik memory and oral history (translated English followed by transcribed Spanish).<sup>9</sup>

...We, the Muchik have always harvested fish, wildlife, and plant materials. We are dependent on wild mammals, birds, fish, other creatures, and undomesticated plants to feed and shelter ourselves. In the pursuit of the resources that continue to be the foundation of our culture, people leave traces over the landscape, evidence that they have been there. Many of their activities leave no visible evidence, however. Instead, they etch themselves in the minds of those who travel their homeland in search of physical and spiritual sustenance. The Muchik peoples carry maps of their homelands in their heads. For most people, these mental images are embroidered with intricate detail and knowledge, based on the community's oral history and the individual's direct relationship to the traditional territory and its resources.

Mental mapping is about remembering aspects of the individual's experience. It is about telling the story of a person's life on the land. Over time the individual's experience becomes part of the collective oral tradition, a story of much grander proportions. In this respect, mental mapping is a means to help record a nation's oral history. Mapping is not just about carrying around all these mind maps. If the person remembers well, they become more connected to the territory and remember to have respect for what they use. Good

maps are about places where animals are harvested for food, clothing, medicines, tools, and other purposes. Good maps are about places where plant materials are harvested for food, clothing, medicines, tools, shelter and fuel. Good maps are about places where rocks, minerals, and soils are collected for making tools, conducting ceremonies, and other purposes. Good maps are about ecological knowledge of habitats and sites critical to the survival of important animal populations; for instance, deer or giant sea bass fish, or the islands where the albatross birds make their nests. There used to be many turtles and sea otters; now we never see them, because someone forgot, and did not make a good map. Good maps are about habitation sites, such as settlements and burial grounds.

Good maps are about spiritual or sacred places such as ceremony sites, areas inhabited by non-human or supernatural beings, and birth and death sites. We have many legends and other accounts about specific places. Mental maps help us to remember the travel and trade routes with the original Mochica place names. The knowledge of the maps is retained by the *sacerdotes* and the *ancianos* (elders). Before there were few who kept these maps secret, but now we are stronger, and our *huacas* are growing more powerful. We just want to take care of the land of our ancestors, and to do this we must never forget.

(...Nosotros, los Muchik siempre hemos cosechado el pez, la fauna , y los materiales de las plantas. Somos dependientes de los mamíferos silvestres, los pájaros, pescado, otras criaturas, y plantas no domesticadas para alimentar y refugiarnos. En la persecución de los recursos que continúan ser la base de nuestra cultura, las personas dejan sus huellas sobre el paisaje, la evidencia que ellos han estado allí. Sin embargo, muchas de sus actividades no dejan evidencia visible. En vez de eso, ellos mismos se graban en las mentes de los que viajan por su patria en busca de sustento físico y espiritual. Las personas de Muchik llevan mapas de sus patrias en sus memorias. Para la mayoría de las personas, estas imágenes mentales se bordan con detalle y conocimiento complejos, basado en la historia oral de la comunidad y la relación directa del individuo al territorio tradicional y sus recursos.

La cartografía mental se trata de poder recordar los aspectos de las experiencias de un individuo. De poder decir la historia de la vida de una persona en la tierra. Con el tiempo, la experiencia del individuo llega a ser la parte de la tradición oral colectiva, un cuento de proporciones mucho más grandes. En este respeto, la cartografía mental es uno de los medios de poder ayudar a registrar oralmente la historia de una nación. La cartografía mental no se trata de llevar mapas en la mente. Si la persona recuerda bien, ellos llegan a ser más

conectados al territorio, y recuerdan de tener el respeto para aquellos que los utilizan. Los buenos mapas tratan acerca de los lugares donde animales se cosechan para el alimento, para la ropa, para las medicinas, para los instrumentos, y para otros propósitos. Los mapas buenos son acerca de los lugares donde plantan las materias que se cosechan para el alimento, la ropa, las medicinas, los instrumentos, el refugio y el combustible. Los mapas buenos son acerca de los lugares donde piedras, los minerales, y las tierras se reúnen para hacer instrumentos, realizar las ceremonias, y otros propósitos. Los mapas buenos también tratan de el conocimiento ecológico de habitantes y sitios críticos a la sobre vivencia de poblaciones de animales importantes; por ejemplo el venado, o el pez gigantesco del mar, y las islas donde los pájaros de albatros hacen sus nidos. Antes había muchas nutrias del mar y tortugas, pero ahora nosotros nunca las vemos, porque alguien se olvidó, y no hizo un bueno mapa.

Los mapas buenos son acerca de sitios de habitación, tal como los arreglos, y entierros sagrados. Los mapas buenos son los de lugares espirituales o lugares sagrados tales como los sitios de las ceremonias, las áreas habitadas por seres no humanos o sobrenaturales, y por los sitios que son de nacimiento y la muerte. Tenemos muchas leyendas y otros cuentos acerca de lugares específicos. Los mapas mentales nos ayudan a recordar las rutas de los viajes y el comercio, con los nombres originales del lugar de Mochica. El conocimiento de los mapas es retenido por los sacerdotes y los ancianos. Había antes pocos que mantenían estos secretos de los mapas, pero ahora somos más fuertes, y nuestras huacas están creciendo más poderosas. Nosotros sólo queremos cuidar de la tierra de nuestros antepasados, y para hacer esto, nosotros nunca debemos de olvidarnos.)

## **MUCHIK MYTH.**

Many myths of the Muchik remain in their oral history and explain why things are. I present only those that suit the purpose of this dissertation. Helpful are the comparative studies of the South American myth and religion, which geographically map the scholarly study of South American religions and myths and then present a thematic treatment of South American mythology (myths about the

creation of the world, the levels of the cosmos, heavenly bodies, universal destruction, high gods, and myths of the origins of human beings, plants, fire, death and rites).<sup>10</sup> In addition, Juan Vázquez crosses over geographic and linguistic borders and makes a distinct mention of what he calls “modern” myths or legends created in colonial times. He notes that a large number of these mythic themes were established not only among innumerable South American peoples but also in other continents of the world.<sup>11</sup> This study of the South American myth initiated larger queries about the origin, history and meaning of mythic motifs. It is difficult to interpret the mythic histories of a population that lived through the treachery of colonial and postcolonial contact. Gary Urton<sup>12</sup> discusses the need to set up new assumptions in order to understand their mythic histories:

Today, working in the field with a different set of theoretical assumptions, we are able to see that the ‘fragmentary’ nature of American Indian cosmology is perhaps only an artifact of our incomplete understanding of the principles perceived in their environment.

The myth is the text and discourse of their oral history. Their world is very different from our Western world.

It is their interpretations of the way things appear briefly described by *Sacerdote Mamita Mauricia* in an interview<sup>13</sup> (translated into English followed by the Spanish transcription).

Humans perceive animals and other forces that inhabit the world. However, the gods, spirits, the dead, inhabitants of other cosmic levels, astral beings, plants, animals, objects are beings who view humans and themselves in a profoundly different way.

(Los Humanos perciben animales y otras subjetividades que habitan en el mundo. Sin embargo, los dioses, los espíritus, los muertos, los habitantes de otros niveles cósmicos, los fenómenos meteorológicos, las plantas, los objetos y los artefactos son seres que ven a los humanos y a sí mismos en una manera profundamente diferente.)

That is, people typically see humans as humans and animals as animals; to see spirits, (these usually invisible beings) is a sure sign that the “conditions” are not normal. Taussig further explains cosmological “seeing:”

Animals (predators) and spirits, however, see humans as animals (as prey), to the same extent that animals (as prey) see humans as spirits or as animals (predators). By the same token, animals and spirits see themselves as humans: they perceive themselves as (or become) anthropomorphic beings when they are in their own houses or villages and they experience their own habits and characteristics in the form of culture — they see their food as human food (jaguars see blood as corn beer...) ... masters of cosmic schematics (*sacerdotes*),<sup>14</sup> dedicated to communicating and administering these cross-perspectives, are always there to make concepts tangible and intuitions intelligible.<sup>15</sup>

IN SUM, animals are people, or see themselves as persons. The apparent form of each species is a mere outer layer (a “clothing”) that

conceals an internal human form, usually only visible to the eyes of the particular species or to certain trans-specific beings such as *sacerdotes*. The internal form is the soul or spirit of the animal that appears to be identical to human consciousness, or a human concealed behind an animal mask. The “clothing” of the body is normally considered a fixed bodily appearance. However, for the Muchik it is changeable and removable. In this way the spirits, the dead, and *sacerdotes* may assume animal form.<sup>16</sup> Important to note is the animals they are speaking about are mythic animals; creator deities with universal souls. When *sacerdotes* transform into the mythic animals, they transform into something much more powerful than themselves.<sup>17</sup> Close relationships develop between the spirits incarnated as animals and the *sacerdotes*.<sup>18</sup> This intimate connection to nature and the supernatural extends to all of the Muchik *huacas*. The sacred spirits of the sea, the earth, the river, the mountains, lightning, thunder, the wind, lakes, plants, stones, etc. have relationships with all humans, and these relationships have the potential to be friendly and/or hostile.<sup>19</sup>

The Muchik universe has a different nature than the Western universe. Their universe is a world of appearances; for example, they believe that the solid earth is airy sky to the beings inhabiting the

strata below them, and what to them is airy sky is solid ground to those who inhabit the strata above. The world thus consists of (relative) illusions, in which different kinds of beings see the same things differently; thus humans' eyes can normally see good spirits only in the form of lightning flashes or birds see themselves in their true human form, and jaguars view human beings as small pigs to be hunted<sup>20</sup>

Significant to the Muchik is the origin myth, a primordial cosmogenic narrative<sup>21</sup> explaining the foundations and creation of the universe. Graphically, the origin myth may be the center point of Muchik mapping (see table 4.7). The mythic time of creation is a sacred time, which involves the collapsing of the past, present, and future into an eternal now in order to allow heroics of the past to be part of the ubiquitous sacred present. This time of creation is "recreated" and "relived" during the religious festivals, particularly during the dances such as the *Diablada*, the *Ingas* and *Ñustas*. For the Muchik, humankind is the original form. From the First Humans, the various species of plants, animals, astronomical bodies and landscape features developed. The Muchik are the descendents of those ancestral first humans who managed to escape being transformed. White people<sup>22</sup> are considered to have the same fate as the animals.

*Sacerdote la Maestra* says in interview: "The white people and the animals used to be what we are; however they are not, as amongst ourselves,<sup>23</sup> what we used to be." (Las personas blancas y los animales antes eran lo que nosotros somos, para ser lo que somos; sin embargo ellos ya no lo son.) Two separate histories are implied.<sup>24</sup>

The following are some of the origin myths collected from Huanchaco, Moche and Huamachuco. The translated English text is followed by the transcribed Spanish<sup>25</sup> and a limited analysis and synthesis. An emphasis is on the mythic representations that are recreated in the religious ceremonies.

## **HUANCHACO MYTH**

*(In Huanchaco the following myth was told by Sacerdote Mama Mauricia (English translation; transcribed Spanish text follows).*

### **Huanchaco Myth 1: The Myth of the Fish and Humans**

#### ***Text***

In the beginning were the Fish-people. They were small dwarf-like creatures and lived in lake villages within shell houses. They honored the sea, its storms, its sandy beaches and its *concha* seashells. They ate only fish and drank only the blood of the fish, and only emerged from their homes when the Sun dropped below the horizon. The Moon ruled and they lived in the darkness of the night.



When the Sky was the most threatening, they performed their festivals and rituals. A special one involved sacrificial offerings to their primary deity, *el Robalo* (a giant sea bass), whom they revered and respected. The power of this deity was such that if one looked at him in the distance, one would be exterminated. This is so because to look at a deity was to take something of his or hers, which in turn made that person superior to the rest of the people, causing the mortal's extermination.

Times passed, new worlds were formed, and other civilizations came, until one day the Sun took possession of the sky. With his fiery rays he ordered the Fish-Humans to cultivate the earth — to eat and drink of the earth. But even when the Sun took the appearance of a Whale, the Fish-Humans still refused to accept his orders and persisted in denying the Sun's force. Therefore, the Father Sun, the powerful maker and the owner of the worlds destroyed the Fish-Humans' homes and turned them into fish. He condemned them to die when they became hot or when the light of the Moon or the stars was present, because they did not accept his new laws. For this reason, and from that time the fish die when they are taken out of the water.

Yet since the Fish-Humans (who managed to escape) did not accept the Sun, the Sun was forced to share its regime. And when the

Moon and Stars are shining, they still do not have to accept the new law of the Sun's forces.

**(El Pez y los Humanos.** En el principio eran los Pez Humanos. Ellos eran criaturas pequeñas como enanos y vivían en las aldeas de lagos dentro de las casas de esqueleto. Ellos honraron el mar, sus tempestades, sus playas de arena, y sus conchas marinas de caracol. Ellos comieron sólo pez, y bebieron sólo la sangre del pez y surgían de sus hogares cuando el Sol caía debajo del horizonte. La Luna gobernó y ellos vivieron en la oscuridad de la noche. Cuando el Cielo era el mayor amenazante, ellos realizaron sus fiestas y los rituales. Una de las ofrendas especiales de sacrificaciones implicaba al primario de la Deidad El Róbalo un pez gigantesco quien ellos reverenció y respetaron. El poder de esta Deidad era de tal magnitud, eso si uno lo miraba de lejos, a ese se le exterminaría. Esto es así, porque mirar una Deidad era como tomar algo que era de el/o ella, y a cambio, esto hacia a esa persona superior al resto de las personas, causando el exterminación del mortal.

Los tiempos pasaron, nuevos mundos se formaron, y otras civilizaciones vinieron, hasta que un día el Sol tomo posesión del cielo. Con sus rayos llameantes él ordenó que los Pez-Humanos cultivaran la

tierra - comer y beber de la tierra. Pero, aún cuando el Sol tomó la apariencia de una Ballena, los Pez-Humanos se negaron todavía aceptar sus órdenes y persistieron en negar la fuerza del Sol. Por lo tanto, el Padre Sol, el fabricante poderoso, el dueño de los mundos destruyó los hogares de los Pez-Humanos y los convirtió en pez. El los condenó a morir cuando ellos llegaron a estar calientes, o cuando la luz de la Luna o las estrellas estaba presente, porque ellos no aceptaron sus nuevas leyes. Por esta razón, y de ese tiempo, el pez muere cuando ellos son sacados del agua.

Aun así, ya que los Pez-Humanos los que lograron escapar , no aceptan al Sol, el Sol se forzó a compartir su régimen. Y cuando la Luna y las Estrellas brillan, ellos todavía no tienen que aceptar la nueva ley de las fuerzas del Sol.)

***Analysis (limited)***

The characters in the myth are the following: A- Fish-Humans, B- Moon, C- Sea, D- *Concha* homes, E- *El Róbalo* (Giant Bass Fish), F- Sun, and G- Fish.

A-The First Humans were Human Fish.

B- In the beginning the Moon was the sacred ruler in the sky.

C- They revered the Sea and ate only Fish.

D- The *concha* is important, as it belonged to the First Humans.

E- They had festivals and made sacrifices for their principle deity, *El Robalo* (the Giant Bass Fish).

F- The Sun took possession of the Sky and wanted to control the Human Fish. He even transformed into a Whale to appease them.

G-When the Human Fish refused, the Sun became angry and destroyed their *concha* homes and turned them into fish.

The first beings were the Human Fish. They only ate fish and drank the blood of the fish. The original deities were the Moon, Sea, and *El Robalo*. The Sun as a divinity came and took over the sky, forcing the First Humans to farm and drink water from the earth. When the First Humans refused, their *concha* homes were destroyed and they were turned into fish. They were condemned to die if they became hot (probably due to the warm current, *El Niño*) and when the Moon and Stars were out. Because they refused, the Sun has to share the sky realm with the Moon.

### ***Synthesis (limited)***

This myth establishes that the fish have descended from first humans. They lived at night under the Moon, and only ate fish from the sea. If the sea was turbulent, festivals were given to their deity, *El Robalo*. There were sacrifices and festivals for *el robalo* (the giant bass fish),<sup>26</sup> from the beginning of time. The Sun is a latecomer and

was never truly accepted as a deity. For this reason the Huanchaceros will always primarily be fishermen holding sacrifices and festivals for their sacred spirits. The conch was also established as belonging to the first ancestors.

### **Huanchaco Myth 2: The Sea Lion and the Sea Otter**

*(In Huanchaco, the following myth was related by an anonymous fisherman, referenced by fisherman/historian Walter Díaz Sánchez in 1996, English translation followed by Spanish transcription).*

#### **Text**

A curious event took place on the *Isla de San Lorenzo o Chao* (the offshore Island of San Lorenzo or Chao a birthplace of the Sea Lions). There was a marriage of Sea Lions who lived very happily in a place called *La Calientito*. The Father Sea Lion was content that his children were brave, of medium size, had the color of young goats, and that his wife was pregnant. The Sea Lioness gave birth to two small pups; one was white and the other was black. They were already very developed, with a great vision of the sea when they were born. The Mother Sea Lion taught them the secrets of the water; she put them on her shoulder and swam out a distance, leaving them on their own. The pups began to swim, and when they were tired they rested in the hollows of the rocks.

The Father Sea Lion was present at the learning sessions of his dear sons. When the pups began to grow, their shapes took the form of Caimans.<sup>27</sup> The Father Sea Lion was surprised at their size, and their color also seemed suspicious. His friends nicknamed the father *Lobo Bajamar* (Low Tide Sea Lion). They said, "These are not your sons; they are not the right size nor do they have your color." The Father Sea Lion began to feel anxious and wondered if perhaps his wife had been unfaithful.

In the month of October, there is a festival of the sea called *Flor de Verano* (Flower of Summer). At this time, all the storms of the sea are calm. The Father Sea Lion left to swim and bathe in the sea, leaving his wife sleeping. He was being watchful when he saw a small animal with a large tail swimming carefully towards his wife. In those same moments, the Father Sea Lion was trying to catch a beautiful flounder fish when he heard a very loud scream from his wife. The Father Sea Lion came with all haste then saw the little animal jump into a hollow of the rock and never come out. The Father Sea Lion discreetly told his friends about this. One of his friends told him it was necessary to resolve this, and he should take his problem to the Judge.



Figure 7.1 Drawing of Mochica Sea Lions Hunt Ritual.<sup>28</sup> They use clubs to make the sea lions give up their magic stones.

The friend began to tell a story his grandfather told him, that there existed a *Lobito gato* (small sea lion cat) called *Anzumito* (Sea Otter) that assaulted Sea Lions and looked somewhat like a Caiman. The Father Sea Lion became furious, went to Señor Judge, and told him there was a Caiman he needed to remove from his place called *El Calientito*.

The Judge asked what had happened. The Sea Lion told the Judge that he had only recently made a home to have children, who should look like his race. He said, "I am the color of a young goat, medium size, my wife's color is black, medium size, and my sons have the colors of white and black with the size of Caimans. Well, the black

one is the color of his Mother, but, the white one, I have no idea where he came from.”

The Judge replied, “Maybe this color existed somewhere in your family.” The Sea Lion continued, “No, Señor Judge, my family is the color black, and my wife’s family has my color. You see, Señor Judge, I had been somewhat unhappy and took advantage of the 22<sup>nd</sup> of October, *Flor de Verano*, to swim, and then I saw a small rare animal with a tremendous tail. In the same moment, I spotted a delicious flounder, and was trying to catch it, when I heard a loud scream from my wife. I was also surprised when the small animal jumped into a hollow in my rock. I told my friends about what had happened, and they told me this was the famous assaulter of the Sea Lions and was the Father of the Caimans.”

The Judge listened and said, “They call me Caiman because I am large, and I also, would like to have justice so that I can know my true race. Let’s take a visit to where this small daring animal went; perhaps he is the one called *Anzumito*.

They went to look, and did not see anything. The Sea Lion still demanded justice, so the Judge had a plan. “Let’s have a festival in your house as soon as possible. I’ll give you the instructions.” The day of the festival arrived. “Twenty-five married couples of Sea Lions



are invited,” said the Judge. “Let’s start the party off getting them really drunk, and then put them to sleep. The male Sea Lions will sleep around the outer edge of the island, and their wives will sleep in the center. Then we’ll see if the small animal will take advantage of the situation, and we will catch him.” These were the instructions of the Judge. After dancing and drinking, the tired ones went to sleep. In those moments, three small animals jumped out at the same level of the rock. The investigators did not notice.

When everyone completed the instructions of the Judge of not doing anything and just lying still, screams came from the Sea Lionesses; the *Anzumito* had violated them.

The Judge had been able to see all of these actions. The three married couples who had been victims wanted to kill the Señor Judge for giving them instructions to remain still and not catch the *Anzumos*. The Judge passed his sentence. These were the famous *Anzumitos*, and each one had to punish himself by giving up his beautiful long tail. The Sea Lions also would eat a stone every year to know their age, and these stones would be magical.

The fishermen say that here on this island there lives the enchanted *Lobo Bajamar*, calling to the other Sea Lions to tell them

what had happened. The fishermen have a ritual hunt for the stones of the Sea Lion, as the stones are love charms (see figure 7.1).

**(El Lobo y el Anzumo.** Esto caso curioso tuvo lugar en la Isla de San Lorenzo o Chao. Había un matrimonio de lobos que eran muy felices y vivían en un lugar denominado "El Calientito." El lobo contento que tendría sus hijos aquerridos y de color cabritilla y tamaño mediano, ya que su esposa se encontraba encinta.

La loba dio a luz a dos lobitos, uno de color blanco, el otro de color negro, eran bastante desarrollados y con mucha visión al mar, fueron creciendo; la loba madre les enseñaba los secretos del agua, los echaba a su espalda y les dejaba a una distancia regular, los lobitos empezaban a nadar, cuando se cansaban se metían a los huecos de las peñas. El lobo padre presenciaba el aprendizaje de saber nadar de sus queridos hijos. Llegaron a crecer tan grandes como los caimanes, el padre lobo sorprendido del tamaño, y del color se sintió sospechoso. Sus amigos por apodo le decían "Lobo Bajamar," esos no son tus hijos, tu color no es, ni tu tamaño, el lobo intranquilo se puso al cuidado para sorprender tal vez la infidelidad de su esposa loba.

Mes de octubre "Flor de Verano," todas las tempestades han amainado, salió a banarse el lobo, dejando a la loba dormida. Se puso de guardia cuando localizó un animalito chiquito con una larga cola que nadaba con mucho cuidado y se dirigía a su esposa.

En esos instantes el lobo se entretuvo pescando un hermosa lenguado, cuando escuchó un grito enorme de su esposa, el lobo se vino a todo prisa, vio al diminuto animal que saltando se metió al hueco de la peña y no salió. El lobo inquieto lo contó a sus amigos, uno de ellos le dijo: Que él tenía algo que decir al respecto de este caso y que pusiera su queja al juez. Comenzó a narrar que su abuelo le había conversado que existía un "Lobito gato" llamando Anzumito, que era un asaltador de los lobos, que de ahí salían los caimanes. El lobo furioso se presentó al señor juez, que era un caimán y le formuló la denuncia de lo había sucedido en su hogar llamando "El Calientito."

El juez le dijo: ¿Qué ha pasado? Vea señor juez, hace poco tiempo que he formado mi hogar, hemos tenido dos hijos, como es natural deberían salir a nuestra raza.

Yo soy cabritillo, regular tamaño, mi señora color negro, tamaño regular, mis hijos han salido de color blanco y negro, su tamaño es de caimanes.

Bueno, el negro será su mamá, el blanco no sé por qué ha salido así. El juez replicó puede ser algo confidencial en la familia. No señor juez, mi familia es de color negro, lo mismo la familia de mi señora es de mi color.

Vea señor juez, yo estaba algo descontento y aprovechando el día 22 de octubre, "Flor de Verano," fui a bañarme y vi a un animalito raro con tremenda cola, en esos instantes se presentó un succulento lenguado, estaba pescándole, cuando escuché un fuerte grito de mi señora.

Tanta fue la sorpresa que localicé un animalito que se metía al hueco de la peña, conversé con mis amigos lo sucedido y me dijeron que era el famoso asaltador de lobas y que era el padre de los caimanes.

El señor juez escuchó y dijo: A mi también me llaman caimán, porque soy grande, pero me gustaría hacer justicia par aver mi raza.

Haremos una visita ocular a donde se metió el aguerrido animalito, quizás sea el llamado "Anzumito."

La vista ocular se realizó y nada se supo. El lobo sediento de justicia exigía al juez la sentencia.

El juez, manifestó, bueno, vamos a hacer una fiesta en tu casa lo más pronto possible. Yo daré las instrucciones. Llegó el día de la fiesta.

Había 25 matrimonios invitados, el juez dijo: vamos a empezar esta fiesta haciéndonos los borrachos y nos echamos todos a dormir, los invitados se acuestan alrededor de la isla; las esposas todos duermen al centro, como dicen que es muy oportunista, si algo sucediera nadie intervenga para ver el fin, fueron las instrucciones del señor juez. Después del baile y la raspa se esharon a dormir cansados. En esos instantes salen tres animalitos pequeños al ras del suelo que los investigadores no se dieron cuenta.

Cuando todos cumplían órdenes del señor juez, de no participar en nada, vuelven a gritar las lobas, el Anzumito las había violado.

El señor juez, pudo observar todas las hazañas. Los tres matrimonies que fueron víctimas querían matar al señor juez, por la instrucción de no participar en la pesca de los anzumos.

Exigían justicia, el señor sentenció: Que eran los famosos anzumitos, y que cada uno hiciera justicia con su propia cola y que cada lobo comiera una piedra cada año para saber su edad.

Los pescadores dicen que ahí se encuentra el "Lobo Bajamar" encantado, llamando a los demás lobos para contarle lo sucedido. Según los pescadores la piedra del lobo es muy buena para el amor.

***Analysis (selective).***

The characters in the myth are the following: A-Father Sea Lion, *Lobo Bajamar*, B-Mother Sea Lion, C-Two Sons, D-*Anzumito*, E-Sea, F-Island of San Lorenzo G-Judge Caiman.

A-The Father Sea Lion, nicknamed "Low Tide" Sea Lion, expresses human values of the family.

B-The Mother Sea Lion is violated and gives birth to two "sea otter-like" sons. She teaches them the Sea Lion's secrets of the sea.

C-The two Sea Otter Sons are very tricky and smart at a young age.

D-*Anzumito* is the Father of the Caiman, and is the Mochica word for the Sea Otter who was honored as a deity and trickster-sage from ancestral times. They are related to and are a mixture of the three different species that live in three different regions: the Sea (*sea lion*), the Feline (*gato*-cat), and Reptile (*caiman*). They are sages and deities.

E-The Sea World has its own sacred places.

F-The Island of San Lorenzo off of the coast of Chao is noted as an enchanted place where *sacerdotes* have special rituals to get the magical stones from the sea lions. This takes place on October 22, the Spring Equinox, called First Flowers or *Flor de Verano*. The time-place is also set as *La Calientita*.

G-The Judge Caiman takes a role similar to a *sacerdote*. Magically, he makes the *anzumito* lose its large tail and magically gives the Sea Lion a secret stone of love.

### ***Summary (selective)***

Relations existing between man and animal are basic. Sea Lions and Humans share the characteristics of Humanity, once more asserting the Animals came from the First Humans. The designated sacred place of the Island of San Lorenzo is confirmed as the place where the ritual of clubbing the Sea Lions and hunting their stones has always taken place. This story explains why this ritual still takes place. Natural phenomena have a mythological origin. The *Anzunito*<sup>29</sup> is established as an intelligent Trickster. Human and family values are also taught.

## **MOCHE MYTH**

*(In Moche, the following origin myth was related by Sacerdote Anhuamán translated freely followed by the Spanish transcription.)*

### **Moche Myth 1: The Myth of the Stars and Humans**

#### ***Text***

The ancient Mochicas were created by four Stars; rather, by two married pairs of stars that created all of the world. There was never any doubt for the first Mochicas that the Sky was an exact duplication of the Earth. For them, the proverb, "As it is above, so it is below," was a religious saying.

These were very early Humans. For them the Moon was more powerful than the Sun, and also more useful, especially when the night was clear of clouds. At night, the moon could catch robbers and punish them, because robbing was the crime the Moon disliked the most. Also at night, the planet Venus, the star Sirius, and the constellation of the Pleiades or the Seven Shepherds were also worshipped because some believed these stars created and protected herds of animals and flocks of birds.

The double pair of stars created all of the humans, and these stars were part of the constellations Canis Major and the Astral Fish (Southern Cross). The two largest and most brilliant stars made the nobles, the leaders and the most intelligent of the Mochicas, while the



other two pale and small stars produced the fools and the commoners. This is why the nobles are established in the higher levels of the State: because they are directly descended from and protected by the bright stars of the Sky. The lower classes have more humble positions, as they descended from the paler stars of lesser importance.

For example, how could a *sacerdote* be able to divine or cure if that Mochica did not have an important origin? There would be no national guarantees; no public faith. In respect to the survival of the villagers, the *sacerdotes* can never make mistakes; otherwise there would be calamities, sicknesses, wars and hunger. The parents in the Sky have decided this.

This is also why the first inhabitants of Chimor are bound by the security of the Sky and worship the Stars, Rain, Wind, Lightning, Thunder and Meteor showers, which are divine manifestations of love or anger.

**(Las Estrellas y los Humanos.** Los Mochicas antiguos fueron creados por cuatro Estrellas, lo, por dos pares de estrellas casadas que crearon todo el mundo. Nunca hubo duda para el primer Mochicas que el Cielo era una duplicación exacta de la Tierra. El proverbio, "Como es arriba, así es abajo," era para ellos un dicho religioso.

Estos eran los primeros Humanos. Para ellos la Luna era más

poderosa que el Sol, y también más útil, especialmente cuando la noche era clara y sin nubes. De noche, la luna podría agarrar a ladrones y los castigaba, porque robar era el crimen que a la Luna más le disgustaba. También de noche, el planeta Venus, la estrella Sirios, y la constelación del Pléyades o los Siete Pastores, también se les veneraba porque algunos creyeron que estas estrellas creaban y protegían a las manadas de animales y las multitudes de pájaros.

El doble par de estrellas creó todos los humanos, porque estas estrellas formaban parte de las constelaciones Canis Mayor y el Pez Astral. Las dos estrellas más grandes y las más brillantes hicieron a los nobles los líderes, los miembros de los Mochicas más inteligentes, mientras las otras dos estrellas pálidas y pequeñas produjeron los tontos y los ordinarios. Es por eso que los nobles son establecidos en los niveles más altos del Estado, porque ellos son descendientes directamente de y protegidos por las estrellas brillantes del Cielo. Las clases más bajas tienen estancias más modestas, ya que ellos descendieron de las estrellas más pálidas y de menos importancia.

¿Por ejemplo, cómo podría ser capaz un sacerdote de dividir o curar, si ese Mochica no tuviera un origen importante? No habría ninguna garantía nacional y ninguna fe pública. En respeto a la sobrevivencia de los aldeanos, los sacerdotes nunca puede hacer errores;

de otro modo habría calamidades, enfermedades, guerras y también hambre. Los padres en el Cielo han decidido esto.

Esto es también por qué los primeros habitantes de Chimor, están atados a la seguridad del Cielo, y veneran las Estrellas, la Lluvia, el Viento, Relámpago, el Trueno, y la lluvia de Meteoritos, lo cual son las manifestaciones divinas del amor o la cólera.)

### ***Analysis***

The characters in the myth are the following: A- Moon, B-Stars, bright and pale, C- First Humans, D-Sacerdotes, E-Astral Dieties.

A. At the beginning the Moon is more powerful than the Sun.

B. Four Stars in the Sky world created the First Mochicas. These stars are seen when the constellations of the Canis Major surrounds the Astral Fish (Southern Cross), implying both farmers and fishermen are included in the analysis. It also designates a special celestial event.

C. The First Mochicas were created in two classes. The brighter stars created the nobles, the paler stars produced the commoners.

D. The *Sacerdotes* come from the noble class, as their responsibilities are greater in the village. They must avert any catastrophes from happening and cannot make any errors.

E. The other astral deities are the Pleiades which created all animals and birds, the Rain, Wind, Lightning, Thunder, and Meteor showers. These deities have human emotions and can show love or anger.

### **Synthesis**

This myth establishes the first Mochicas farmers/herders as descendents of Stars. The Night Sky world defines the Earth world “as it is above so it is below.” This is why the Muchik today look to the Sky, the Stars and Moon to determine knowledge about seasonal changes, if the *Niño* will come, about rainfall, when to plant, how much to plant, what to plant, when the rain will come, how much rain and when to harvest. It also acknowledges a ruling class (when one existed). Now the stars and their *huacas* will protect and guide them. The *sacerdote* was and is established as the noble one who will avert calamities and disease. Other important astral deities are mentioned and respected.

### **Moche Myth 2: The Myth of the Grain of Corn**

*(In Moche, Sacerdote Azabache related the following myth, translated freely followed by Spanish transcription.)*

### **Text**

Strong warriors on the side of the Deities of the Day Sky fought against the Deities of the Night Sky. After many battles, the warriors

asked permission from the Deities of the Day Sky if they could leave the fighting for awhile so they could tend to their fields, repair their houses and take care of their gardens. The warriors felt they were sacrificing too much of their resources by fighting battles. However, the War Deity of the Day Sky thought this was a selfish request and a sign of weakness, and punished them by saying, "You will never be my warriors again. I will turn you into Plants that are fixed in the Earth so that you suffer and weather the climates. Still, as a remembrance of your past heroics and courage, you will be plants with distinctive markings. Your leaves will end in points like arrows; your stalks will look like large bows; your small and abundant fruit will look like stones when they are separated, and like a mace (weapon, symbol of authority) when they are together. The stalks and the leaves will feed the animals and the fruit will feed humans. You no longer deserve to be with the Deities of the Day Sky." However, this Deity of the Day Sky who was also a Human—the most wise, great and perfect of all—became hungry. In those times the stalk, the leaves, the roots and the fruit of corn was completely green, and no one, neither animals or people, had tried to eat from the plant because it was a bad plant and had not been purified by the Deity of the Day Sky.

Then the Sun Deity came to Earth looking for food and took a cob of Corn. With the contact from the Sun, the fruit and the entire plant turned the color of the Sun. Father Sun ate the grains of Corn, and said, "Sacred Plant, you have fed me. You now have the right to keep my color and serve Gods and Men. When anyone eats you in honor of their God, they will feel like Him or Her." Therefore, when the grain of Corn matures it turns yellow, because it takes the body of the Sun, and the Sun lives within it. The people who eat it will also feel like the Sun is within them, and it will give them eternal life. This is why the *Chicha* (corn beer) is considered a sacred liquor and is always used in religious ceremonies and important political events.

**(El Grano de Maíz.** Los guerreros fuertes en el lado de las Deidades del Cielo de Día lucharon contra las Deidades del Cielo de la Noche. Después que muchas batallas, los guerreros pidieron permiso de las Deidades del Cielo de Día, si ellos podrían dejar las batallas por un rato para que ellos puedan atender a sus campos, reparar sus casas, y cuidar de sus jardines. Los guerreros sentían que ellos sacrificaban demasiado de sus recursos luchando en estas batallas. Sin embargo, la Deidad de la Guerra del Cielo de Día, pensó esto era un pedido egoísta, una señal de debilidad, y los castigó diciendo, "Ustedes

nunca serán mis guerreros otra vez, yo les convertiré en Plantas que serán fijas en la Tierra, para que ustedes sufran y tenga que capear los climas. Aun así como un recuerdo de su heroica y sus valores pasados, ustedes serán plantas con marcas distintivas. Sus hojas terminarán en puntas como flechas; sus tallos se parecerán a arcos grandes; su fruta pequeña y abundante parecerá como piedras cuando ellas son separadas, y como una macis cuando ellos estén juntos. Los tallos y las hojas alimentarán a los animales, y la fruta alimentará a los humanos. Ustedes no merecen estar con las Deidades del Cielo de Día."

Sin embargo, esta Deidad del Cielo de Día que era también un Humano, el más sabio, grande y perfecto de todos; llegó a tener hambre. En esos tiempos el tallo, las hojas, las raíces, y la fruta del maíz estaban completamente verdes, y nadie, ni animales o personas, habían tratado de comer de la planta, porque era una planta mala y no había sido purificada por la Deidad del Cielo de Día.

Entonces la Deidad de Sol vino a la Tierra, buscando alimento y tomó una mazorca de Maíz. Con el contacto del Sol, la fruta y la planta entera se convirtieron en el color del Sol. El Padre Sol comió los granos de maíz, y dijo, "Planta Sagrada, tu me has alimentado. Tú ahora tienes el derecho de mantener mi color y servir a Dioses ya los

Hombres. Cuándo cualquiera te coma en honor a su Dios, ellos se sentirán como "El." Por lo tanto, cuando el grano de maíz madura, se convierte en amarillo, porque toma el cuerpo del Sol, y el Sol vive dentro de el. Las personas que se lo coman, también sentirán como que el Sol está dentro de ellos, y les dará vida eterna. Es por eso que el Chicha se considera un licor sagrado y siempre se utiliza en importantes ceremonias y acontecimientos religiosos y políticos.)

### ***Analysis (limited)***

The characters in this myth are the following: A-Sacred Warriors, B-Deities of Night Sky and Day Sky, C-War Deity, D-Corn Warrior, E-Father Sun Deity, F-*Chicha de Maiz* (corn liquor).

A. The sacred Warriors fought with the Day Sky against the Night Sky.

B. The Night Sky Deities are always fighting Day Sky deities.

C.The War deity becomes angry when the Warriors want to tend to their lands and turns the sacred Warriors into Corn plants.

D. The Corn Warrior has leaves like arrows and a stalk like a bow. The fruit can be stones (used with a sling) or a mace (a weapon and the symbol of authority).



E. At first the corn fruit is green, but turns yellow like the sun when the Sun deity becomes hungry and eats a corncob.

F. The Sun declares the Corn to be a sacred plant, and the fermented drink from the Corn is worshipped during religious ceremonies. When the *Chicha* is drunk, the deity Sun enters the body.

***Synthesis (limited summary)***

This myth establishes the beginning of corn and agriculture. The Night against Day is also the battle of power between the Moon and the Sun. As farmers are dependent on the Sun for the growth of their crops, the Sun appears as a benevolent god for the first time on the coast. Corn also is established as deity who was at first a great and courageous Warrior. Corn is a product of the Sun, and *Chicha* is a sacred drink used in religious ceremonies.

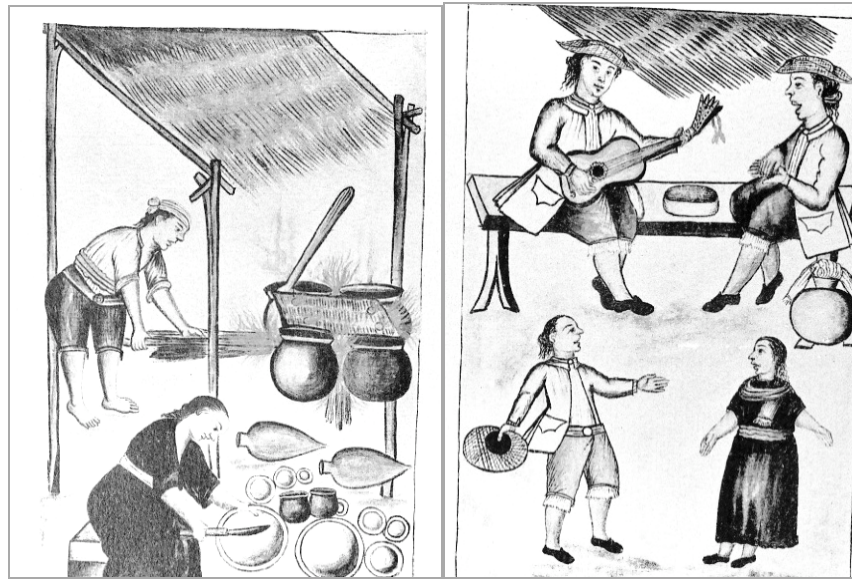


Figure 7.2 Martínez Campañón eighteenth century watercolor of the *chicha*-making and festivities.

## HUAMACHUCO MYTH

(From Huamachuco,<sup>30</sup> the following myth is from the sixteenth century accounts by Augustinian Friar Juan Pedro, referenced in Julio Tello and is translated freely followed by the Spanish transcription.)

### Huamachuco Myth: The Myth of Catequil

#### **Text**

Atagujo was the creator of all things, first in principle, next in law. He lived in the sky and did not move from there. Still, from there he ruled all things and all creations. He made the sky and the earth and governed all. As he was alone he created two others, to govern with him who were called *Sagad Zabra* and the other *Vaun Grabrad*. *Atagujo* created two others to serve him, called *Uvigaicho*

and the other *Yustiqui*. They were messengers to help the villagers who lived on the earth.

After *Atagujo* created them, he created another he called *Wuamansiri*, a man who the villagers honored. This man had been sent from *Atagujo* and came from the sky to the earth, to the region of Huamachuco. A league from Huamachuco lived a group called the *Guachemines*. *Atagujo* actually made the man *Wuamansiri* as a manifestation of himself in a poor man. As a poor man, *Wuamansiri* went to the *Guachemines* and began to work for them in the fields.

The *Guachemines* had a sister called *Cautaguan* who was kept very secluded so no one could see her. One day the brothers *Guachemines* left to complete some business elsewhere. At this time *Wuamansiri*, who had been waiting for his chance to be together with the sister, went to her. She saw he was a manifestation of a Deity, fell in love and was impregnated by him.

When the *Guachemine* brothers returned from their trip and realized *Wuamansiri* had violated their sister, they tied him up and set him on fire and burnt him, turning him into powder. The natives of the surrounding villages said the powder flew up into the sky and stayed at the side of *Atagujo*. As a result, *Atagujo* did not create the real inhabitants of Huamachuco.

After a few days, the sister *Cautaguan* gave birth to two eggs and died afterwards. The *Guachemine* brothers took the eggs and threw them out on the garbage heap. Two boys broke from the eggs and began to cry. An Old Woman found them and took them with her.

One of them was called the great *Cepocatequil*, a valiant man and the idol considered most horrific and most honored in all of Peru. He was adored and worshipped from Quito to Cusco by the bravest and most timid of all the inhabitants. The other brother was called *Piquerao*.

The man *Catequil* went to where his mother was and brought her back to life. She gave her sons two slings that their father *Wuamansiri* had left for the sons to avenge his death and kill the *Guacheminas*. Therefore, they say, the brother *Catequil* killed the *Guachemines* with only a few of the inhabitants remaining on the Earth.

At this time, *Catequil* rises into the sky and *Atagujo* in the sky says, "Now the earth is free, and the *Guachemines* are dead and put into the ground. Now you must create the real inhabitants to live and multiply on earth."

*Atagujo* told them to go to the *Cerro Ipuna*, which they called *Guacat* on top of the *Cerro de Santa Cruz* in the valley of Santa near

Chimbote on the coast. There they were to multiply and grow in a village called Parrilla, between Trujillo and Lima.

So they went to this *cerro* wearing golden and silver plated suits and developed a large society of inhabitants all descended from *Atagujo*.

From the coastal mountain to the area of Huamachuco came the great attack from *Catequil* once more, with all his terrifying manifestations of lightning, thunder and earthquakes that came from his sling. As *Catequil* was so frightening and as everyone who saw him worshipped him, many of the inhabitants from Huamachuco went to his *huaca* and gave sacrifices so he would not kill them. Some say that the *huaca*, the spirit of *Catequil*, disliked some of those who came for a *xalca* (oracle), and they were killed.

After this, the spirit of *Catequil* went into the *huaca* of *Porcón*, four leagues from Huamachuco. There he was honored and many brought him sacrifices of llamas. This place called *Porcón* is the mountain, which has three very high peaks. The first is called *Apocatequil*, the second is called *Mamacatequil* for his mother *Cautaguan*, and the third is his brother *Piguerao*.

The inhabitants of Huamachuco made the finest stone statue of him they could and put in on the first mountain peak to worship it.

There was the great *Apocatequil*, the *huaca* and idol most worshiped in all of the earth. Below he served and protected a great village and created honor and fear in all of those from Quito to Cuzco. There were five *sacerdotes* who stayed there and took care of him.

### ***Analysis***

This myth has three parts. The first is the appearance of *Wamansiri* in the Province of Huamachuco sent by the creator *Atagujó* who lived in the sky. The second is all of this person's adventures, from the time he arrives on earth until he returns to the sky and asks *Atagujó* to create inhabitants who will live on and work the earth. The third is the realization of all of the requests from *Wamansiri*, such as the creation of all of the *huacas* and of humanity.

There is the presence of a trinity of gods who create and govern all things from the sky. Only one of them has the will and power to intercede with those who live on Earth. As this myth has been written down by Friar Pedro, this first part may have been influenced by the Roman Catholic religion of the Augustinian friars.<sup>31</sup>

The characters in the second part are the following:  
A-*Wamansiri*, B-*Gachemines*, C- Old Woman, D-*Cautawan*,  
E-*Apocatequil* and F-*Piquerao*.

A. *Wamansiri* is an agent of the creator, or is the creator sky deity transformed and manifested on earth. He arrives, disguised as a very poor *indio*. In order to procreate all the Huamachucos on earth, *Wamansiri* has to flatter and trick the virgin *Cautawan*. He is killed by fire for this offense by the early inhabitants in the region. He leaves his power in two slings for his sons to avenge his death before he returns to the sky in the form of smoke.

B. The *Gachemines* are inhabitants near the Huamachuco region. They are the brothers of beautiful *Cautawan*. They kill *Wamansiri* and are exterminated by the twins. In fact, there are very few who are left on earth.

C. Old Woman brings up and takes care of the twins,

D. *Cautawan* is the mother of the twins. She was tricked and impregnated by *Wamansiri*, then dies while giving birth to twins. Later she is brought back to life and gives the slings to her sons that were left by their father for them.

E. *Apocatequil*, one of the twins is the most feared and honored prophetic deities in Peru. He brings lightning and thunder to the earth with the use of his sling. He resuscitates his mother, avenges his father's death and exterminates almost all of the *Guachemines*. His huaca is in *Cerro Porcón*.

F. *Piquerao* is the second twin, with hardly any attributes.

The third part of the myth corresponds to the creation of humanity. The agent of the creator, *Wamansiri*, after the creation of the *Apocatequil* returns to earth and performs at the sacred mountain *Ipuna* with silver and gold plated suits, and turns the first *indios* into the actual ones of today.

### **Correlations**

The different characters that are active in this myth can be compared to a general theme of Andean myths on "twin heroes born from the jaguar."<sup>32</sup> These myths begin with a great creator, who can be compared to *Atagujo*, a spirit who is never seen. He is the founder and protector of everything and only lives in the sky. *Wamansiri* is an intermediary between the sky and the earth, between the creator and humanity. The *Gacheminas* represent felines, as *gachemine* is the word for feline, or jaguar in the Culli language. Sometimes the Spanish Christians were called the *Gachemines* due to their harsh and cruel treatment of the Huamachucos. Jaguars represent evil or harsh elements. Inca historian Huaman Poma<sup>33</sup> and most historians throughout all of Peru consider the *Gachemines* to be the bad spirit of *Atagujo* (*Wiracochas*).<sup>34</sup> The felines kill *Wamansiri* by fire who then ascends to the sky as smoke. (Smoke is one way the *sacerdotes* use,



to communicate with the sky deities.) However they do not kill their sister jaguar because she is related to them.

The twins are thrown in the garbage to die. The Old Woman saves, protects, and raises them. Similar myths are found in northeastern Peru.<sup>35</sup> The Old Woman is sometimes called Frog Woman, the mother of all jaguars. The Frog Mother has the power to bring the rain, especially in times of drought. She is the Lady of all Waters as well as protector and source of wisdom and life. She is the Mother of Fertility, usually associated with agricultural fertility. As the bringer of rain she is the main principle of the generation of life, human, plants, and all that exists in the entire world of time and space.

The mother of the twins is the young woman *Cautawan* who gives birth to two eggs and dies two days after the birth. The "hatching from eggs" motif is prevalent in other myths, referring to an ancient tradition. The twin children of the jaguar are *Apo Catequil*, who is associated with thunder and lightning and is the predominate destroyer in the region, and *Piquerao*, who maintains harmony but is hardly mentioned. Other myths say the twin jaguar children are the personifications of the sun and moon. *Apo Catequil* is never associated with the sun but with thunder and lightning, which come from the sky. He is the strong, clever older twin brother. *Piquerao* is the younger

twin, pale, weak and foolish. Some claim the twins were transformed into the sun and moon after their earthly adventures and go to live in the sky.

*Apo Catequil* does not avenge the death of his mother, as she did not die at the hands of the jaguar *Gachemines*. He does avenge the death of his father, *Wamansiri*. The “motif of revenge” is a repeated theme in Andean myth. *Apo Catequil* resurrects the slain mother along the coast. Related myths also have the mother reborn or brought back to life far away from the place where she died. Then after many years on the coast, *Apo Catequil* returns with a large army.

The third part of this myth causes a debate over the “true” creator of Humanity. Is it the mythic hero *Apo Catequil* or his father *Waman Siri* who was sent by the creator *Atagujó*? A characteristic of Andean myths is the “true” creator has to live in a *cerro* or *montaña* and from there come the progeny of humanity.<sup>36</sup> Also, the primary deities are represented by natural jagged rock structures where small rock figures made from stone are placed and revered as shrines or *huacas*. Only *Apo Catequil* has such sacred places.

### **Synthesis**

In ancient times, some of the inhabitants in the province of Humachuco were primarily evil and called the *Gachemines* or Human-

Jaguars. Within the *Gachemines* there is a virgin sister, a young Jaguar girl who is kept isolated and protected by her brothers. One day an extremely poor man (in disguise) who is actually a culture hero and trickster, the earth manifestation of the creator deity, appears in their vicinity. As the brother human-jaguars are evil, they enslave and obligate *Wamansiri* to work in their fields. One day, the brothers leave their sister unattended in order to go on a trip. With flattery, tricks and magic the "poor man" seduces the virgin sister and impregnates her. When the brothers return, they suspect *Wamansiri*. They tie him up and kill him by fire. The young girl gives birth to two eggs and dies soon after. These eggs are thrown away, but retrieved and cared for by an Old Woman, or Frog Woman. From these eggs the divine beings *Catequil* and *Piquerao* are born; one of them brings their mother back to life. They receive from their mother the Slings which had been given to her by *Wamansiri* to avenge his death. The slings are magical and cause destruction with thunder and lightning. They kill practically all of the *Gachemines* at Huamachuco with only a few remaining. The twins claim the earth. When they return to the sky, *Atagujo* advises them to populate. They go to the coast in the Santa Valley, where they live for many years to increase their population (this is also why they are partially Muchik). After several

years *Catequil* conquers the lands of Huamachuco, killing again practically all of the *Gachemines*.

In this myth the historical hero *Catequil* is the mythic culture hero (see chapter 3). His heritage includes *Atagujó*, the jaguar-*Gachemines* and the Mochica from the coast. These are also the three worlds of sky-*sierra*-coast. The myth describes an incident of historical facts that become sacred due to their fusion with the mythic paradigm. The myth is also changing as the details are sometimes confused in different retellings. It seems to deviate so that it can adapt to new social circumstances, yet, continues to maintain the old patterns, motifs and meaning.

## **CONCLUSION**

The concern for the Muchik does not seem to be abstract or intellectual. They are primarily concerned with the magical interpretation, manipulation and prediction of natural phenomena that directly affect the well-being of their communities. This is oriented towards natural phenomena and their relationship to it. The Muchik still view the world in a highly animistic way that extends beyond the limits of natural happenings. The association of the human, fish, plants, seasons and seasonal change, water, and all of their associated

supernatural qualities form the foundation of perception of the universe for the fisherman and farmer. The primary goal in the life of the Muchik peasant, and by extension of the *sacerdote andino*, seems to be an adjustment to the changing influences within their universe while maintaining their ideals and values. The means exist. With religious festivals, ritual dance and music, the use of magic, the knowledge of the *sacerdotes andinos*, healing and curing ceremonies, etc., the Muchik are able to influence if not control various aspects of their world for the benefit of all humans.

Aspects of this ritual mechanism are described and analyzed in the next chapter, Local Ritual Expression. These aspects are the religious dance group, the *Diablada* in the festival of the “Mamita” in Huanchaco, the religious journey along the ancient irrigation canals in Moche to the *Huaca de Sol*, *Huaca de la Luna*, and shrine Moche River, during the Harvest festival, and the religious dance group, the *Ingas* and *Ñustas* of Huamachuco.

## Endnotes to Chapter Seven, pp 76-122

- <sup>1</sup> *Sacerdote* Azabache, personal communication, 1996.
- <sup>2</sup> Schieffelin and Gewertz, 1985, in Krech, 1991: 349.
- <sup>3</sup> Coined by Guillermo Bonfil Batalla, 1985.
- <sup>4</sup> Rodríguez Suysuy, personal communication, 1995-6.
- <sup>5</sup> Two good comparative examples of this "history proper" are *Watunna* (Civrieux, 1970, 1980) and *Kuyujani* (Jiménez and Perozo, 1994). These ideas are summarized in Berta Perez, 2000: 513-533.
- <sup>6</sup> Alfred Metraux, "Religion and Shamanism," *HSAI*, V, 1949: 588.
- <sup>7</sup> *Sacerdote* Azabache, Moche, personal communication 1996-7.
- <sup>8</sup> Quote from Nora, 1989: 9; Nora (1985) compares history to memory and claims history is a critical discourse.
- <sup>9</sup> *Sacerdote* Anhuamán personal communication, Moche 1996.
- <sup>10</sup> Especially Lawrence Sullivan, 1988 and Juan Adolfo Vázquez, 1999.
- <sup>11</sup> In "South American Religions: Mythic Themes", *The Encyclopedia of Religion* (New York, 1987).
- <sup>12</sup> In Anthony F. Aveni and Gary Urton's explorations of the myth-based astronomy of Amerindian culture.
- <sup>13</sup> *Saceradote Mamita Mauricia*, personal communication 1996.
- <sup>14</sup> My parenthesis.
- <sup>15</sup> Taussig, 1987: 462-63.
- <sup>16</sup> See also Reichel-Dolmatoff, 1985 and Hugh-Jones, 1979.

<sup>17</sup> *Sacerdotes* may use a mask with characteristics of a the animal such as a mythic bird, the condor or the owl or the headdress of a feline, or dog, etc. as seen in the Mochica iconography, Cabieses, 1993: 134.

<sup>18</sup> Sometimes the owl, the iguana, or fox, etc. are referred to as “familiar” (familiar), “asistentes” (assistants), “ayudantes” (helpers), or “guardianes” (guardians), Cabieses, 1993: 135-6).

<sup>19</sup> The Muchik *sacerdotes* believe anyone with faith and sincerity has the ability to know the cosmic world and find refuge within its profound mythic manifestations, Ibid.

<sup>20</sup> See also Weiss 1972, “Campa Cosmology,” for comparison.

<sup>21</sup> Please note, the terminology and labels I use are not Muchik. Ideally, a form of *poietikos* Greek, meaning “to make creative, to create artistically,” or what Paul Ricoeur calls ‘metapoetics’, is required to discuss the profound realities of the Muchik, referenced from Lawrence Sullivan, 1988.

<sup>22</sup> The Muchik refer to the spirits of Westerners as mythic Whites.

<sup>23</sup> Meaning from the Muchik point of view, from their World.

<sup>24</sup> See also Hugh-Jones, 1979; *Sacerdote* Azabache, personal communication, 1996.

<sup>25</sup> See also Augusto León Barandiarán, 1934, for comparison.

<sup>26</sup> Perhaps the large golden fish of *huaca peje grande* is symbolic of their original deity, *el robalo*.

<sup>27</sup> Caiman is a type of South American reptile that resembles an alligator.

<sup>28</sup> Drawing by author with software Illustrator, referenced from Donnan 1978.

<sup>29</sup> This myth is dedicated to Richard P. Schaedel (1921-2005), sometimes called a trickster-sage, sea otter.

<sup>30</sup> Several sources in conversation during and after the festival of 1996, and the historians of Huamachuco agree the myth of *Apo Katekil* is the origin myth. The version most informants agree on as accurate comes from Julio

Tello 1932: 50-55, of the Augustine Friar Juan de San Pedro report, 1551-1555. More research needs to be done in Huamachuco to complete the synthesis of contemporary myths.

<sup>31</sup> Analysis based on Tello 1923, also the change of spellings from the Spanish to the Andean is referenced from Tello.

<sup>32</sup> See Métraux, 1946: 114-123.

<sup>33</sup> Human Poma, Op. Cit p. 520 "Estos dices animals que no teme a dios desuella a los pobres indios en este rreyno y no ay rremdios."

<sup>34</sup> Tello, 1923:54.

<sup>34</sup> Ibid.

<sup>35</sup> See Métraux, 1946: 114-123 and Vasquez, 1999.



## Chapter 8: Local Ritual Expression

### **HUANCHACO, FESTIVAL OF THE *MAMITA HUANCHAUERITA***

In 1532, the Spanish under the leadership of Francisco Pizarro, Diego de Almagro and Hernando de Luque, found the inhabitants of Huanchaco and Chan Chan to be pagan worshippers of the Moon, the Sea and the Jaguar.



Figure 8.1 Huanchaco fisherman returns on *caballito de totora* (1992).

The King of Spain, Carlos V ordered Christian conversion. The images of the *Virgen de Socorro* (Virgin de Assistance) and *San Pedro* (Saint Peter) were brought in and religious festivals were created.<sup>1</sup> The

saints were introduced as symbols of the church. However, they were reworked, reshaped and reinterpreted creatively by the indigenous population to represent symbols of insurance of community maintenance and as guardians of the renewability of the natural resources upon which the community depended.<sup>2</sup> The Spanish built their church on top of the ancient sacred Mochica<sup>3</sup> *huaca* and burial grounds and then destroyed the indigenous religious symbols and activities. For more than 400 years they have tried to eliminate native beliefs and replace them with their own. This has only aided to increase the adaptability and resilience of the local populations that is evident during their rituals, music and dance.<sup>4</sup>

Every five years in November, when the constellation of the *Fur* (Pleiades) are directly overhead in the night sky, one of the largest festivals on the Coast, referred to by the Huanchaqueros as the *Gran Huanchaquito*, *Mama Collo*, or *La Mamita*, takes place. The Spanish call it the *La Virgen de Socorro*. This peregrination of the Virgin of Socorro from Huanchaco to Trujillo is said to have begun in 1537<sup>5</sup> in order to combat disease in Trujillo. However, indigenous historians and ethnographers<sup>6</sup> claim this procession took place during the reign of the pre-Hispanic Chimú. At that time, a large golden fish with emerald eyes, *pez de oro*, was carried in procession with many

dancers and musicians through Chan Chan, stopping at the ancient *huacas de Barro Colorado, Peje Grande, Peje Chica*, Huaman and Mansiche. The festival was created to counteract the ill affects of the ten-year reoccurrence of the warm ocean current, *El Niño*, heavy coastal rains, and the fifty-year reoccurrence of a devastating tidal wave.

The saint figure of Socorro is called *la Mamita* or *Mama Collo*. She is the "little mother," similar to the Aymara and Quechua *Pachamama* or "Earth Mother." When the *la Mamita* is in procession, there is no distinction between the sacred and the profane, the abiotic and biotic. The *Mamita* is protective as well as a source of wisdom and life. She is the main principle for the generation of life, whether human, plant, animal and everything that exists in time and space. "In the cosmos, the Pachamama is life and the source of life, is wisdom and ignorance, in both sacred and profane worlds." <sup>7</sup>



Figure 8. 2 *La Mamita* Huanchacaquita (1990).

Figure 8.2 is a picture of the *Mamita* as she rests inside the church of Huanchaco. However, once she is in procession her attire is altered. She wears a straw fisherman hat a white Moche dress with a *poncho*, and is surrounded by tiny models of fishing boats, *caballitos*, nets, and various kinds of fish (see figure 8.3). Her child also wears a fisherman's hat and dress typical of Huanchaco babies. Notice that the child is ambiguous. It can be either a girl or boy. This is common in the figures of the *Niño* (Christ Child) found on the Northwest coast



Figure 8.3 *La Mamita Huanchacaquita* in the procession (1990).

of Peru from Casma to Piura. In fact, the understanding of the creator as androgynous is deeply rooted in the Andean belief system.<sup>8</sup>

The Catholic religion in general is not held in great regard. *Sacerdote Mamita Mauricia*, explains (English translation followed by Spanish transcription):<sup>9</sup>

The *huanchaquero* is not Catholic, We ignore all of the fundamental rules of this religion, and very rarely do we attend mass willingly on Sundays or other Catholic holidays. What we have is a spirit of shared compassion. And, the only time we will go to church to implore its grace, is when there is a mass held to bury our dead. The head spokesman for the entire "clan" (Huamanchumo, Piminchumo, etc.) issues a command to do so. Also we go for the festival in honor of the *Mama Collo*. Otherwise the church is permanently deserted for the entire year. However, there is a reason for everything. It could be that the Catholic religion comes from another place, another world, a different ignorant world, or perhaps the fishermen are always fishing in

the sea. When this doctrine came to our land (*tierra*) where we already have wonderful deities (*dioses fabulosos*) who have always protected and cared for us, it is difficult to explain, how one can become a Catholic, when the gods we love are in nature, we love nature, all of it. We prefer to have reunions with our family and friends, and worship the sea, instead of going to hear a mass. There are some fishermen that say the mass is only for the Whites, and we also sense that the priests have lost all confidence and faith to say mass.

(El huanchaquero no es Católico, nosotros ignoramos todas las reglas fundamentales de esta religión, y muy raramente asistimos a misa con gusto los domingos u otras festividades católicas. Lo que nosotros tenemos es un espíritu de la compasión compartida. Y, el único tiempo que iremos a la iglesia para suplicar su gracia, es cuando hay una misa para enterrar a nuestros muertos. El portavoz del "clan" entero (Huamanchumo, Piminchumo, etc.) publica una orden para que esto se haga. También vamos a la fiesta en honor a la Mamá Collo. De otro modo la iglesia esta deserta permanentemente por el resto del año entero. Sin embargo, hay una razón para todo. Podría ser que la religión católica viene de otro lugar, otro mundo, un mundo diferente e ignorante, o quizás los pescadores siempre pescan en el mar. Cuando esta doctrina vino a nuestra tierra donde nosotros ya tenemos las maravillosas deidades (dioses fabulosos) que siempre nos han protegido y nos han cuidado, es difícil de explicar, cómo uno puede llegar a ser un católico, cuando los Dioses que adoramos están en la naturaleza, nosotros adoramos la naturaleza, todo la naturaleza. Preferimos tener reuniones con nuestras familias y amigos, y venerar el mar, en vez de ir a oír una misa. Hay algunos pescadores que dicen que la misa es sólo para Los Blancos, y para nosotros también, presentimos que los sacerdotes han perdido toda confianza y la fe para decir misa.)

The festival of *Mama Collo* or *La Mamita* is a completely Huanchaquero religious festival under the guise of a Catholic feast. The entire festival lasts a month; that is, between two consecutive full moons from the time the Pleiades are overhead. This also coincides

when the first rains come from the *sierra* and fill the Moche and Chicama rivers.<sup>10</sup>

The Huanchaco folkloric dances of the *Diablada* (devils) and the *Pallitas*<sup>11</sup> are the primary groups present. Neighboring villages from Moche, Virú, Huamachuco, Santiago de Chuco, Chiclín and Cajabamba send their dance groups of *Los Payitos*, *Las Quiyayas*, *Los Indios*, *La Vaca Loca*, *El Toro de las Pampas*, *Las Canasteros*, *Las Couas*, *Los Arabes*, *Los Gitanos*, *Los Cuzquenos*, *Los Angelitos*, *Los Pajarillos*, *Los Indios Pielas Rojas*, *Los Gavilanes*, *Los Osos*, *Los Diablos*, *Los Simios*, *Los Viejitos Ancashinos* and *Los Huanquillas* for specific days during the procession. Each dance group presents their specific myths and promises to their deities and community.

The Huanchaco group of the *Diablada* is traditionally male and the *Pallitas* are female; the ages of each group range from approximately eleven to seventy.<sup>12</sup> The year I was recording for this dissertation (1995) was the first time a young woman participated, named Monica Huamanchumu. The dancers are paired according to similar ability, and I was able to enter the procession as a *Diabla* dancer paired with Monica.<sup>13</sup> To dance in the *Diablada* is to make a promise to the *Mamita*, to *Na* (Mother Sea), to *Si* (Mother Moon), etc. and to the community at large. To break the promise is to cause

undue hardships and catastrophes on yourself and the community, such as tidal waves, earthquakes, death, etc. <sup>14</sup>

### **HEALING AND INITIATION CEREMONY.**

There is a healing ceremony for the dancers of the *Diablada* the night before the *Mamita* leaves Huanchaco in procession through Chan Chan to Trujillo. I was allowed to record only parts of the ceremony, and I present these in the following pages. The ceremony was conducted by one of the *sacerdotes andinos* of Huanchaco; a seventy-year old tiny, energetic woman with long black/grey braids called *Mamita Mauricia*. At times she is referred to as “the beautiful healer” or “diva of Huanchaco.” When *Mamita Mauricia* conducts a ceremony, she is only called *La Maestra* (Master).<sup>15</sup> This ceremony is for protection, and to effectively get rid of all evil spirits that may be “invading” or “hovering” around the dancer.

It takes place in the middle of the night, under the full moon and facing the sea, on top of the *Huaca de Barro Colorado*<sup>16</sup> in Chan Chan (see map 8.1). *La Maestra* lays out *la Mesa Habladora y Curandera*, (the talking and healing *mesa*).<sup>17</sup> This *mesa* is like an altar laid out on a large flat rock that sits on the *huaca*. It is said that a great pre-Hispanic *Sacerdote* is buried underneath and that he will help and protect *La Maestra* during the ceremony. Every *sacerdote* sets up her



or his *mesa* in different ways. *La Mesa* of *La Maestra* consisted of a series of swords, weapons, bottles, *chontas*,<sup>18</sup> herbs, big circular snail shells, large trumpet *concha* (conch shells), animal-mummies, skulls, bottles of liquid of fine scents, the *San Cipriano* figure<sup>19</sup> and other secret objects.

**The Ceremony.**<sup>20</sup>

*La Maestra* begins to chant and shake the rattle. With her arms outstretched, she calls to the stars, to the *luz de las tinieblas* (light that shines from the water), to the ancestors *peje chico* and *peje grande* (the golden fish and ancestor *huacas* of Chan Chan), and to another *huaca* ancestor in the Chicama Valley, at the site of *Puerto Malabrigo*. Some of her words are as follows (transcribed Spanish followed by freely translated English):

Aclamamos abogada  
Nuestra madre del Creador  
A ti amamos, a ti aclamamos  
Nuestra madre del dolor  
Cerro Negro, Cerro Azul, Cerro Blanco  
Anda San Cipriano  
Curando con tus hierbas curanderas

Juega mis encantos, hierbita huanchaquera.

Ya amanece, ya me gana el día

Simora mora, con tus hierbas

Levanta tu mesa curandera

Con tu Viejo San Cipriano

Suspendiendo tu seguro siempre alto.

English translation:

(We are beseeching you as an advocate

Our Mother of the Creator

To you we love, to you we plead

Our mother who removes pain and sorrow

Huacas of Huanchaco, Moche

There walks San Cipriano

Curing with your healing herbs

Give me enchantments, little healer

There I am waking up, my "vision" is clearer

Simora Mora, with your herbs

Lift up your healer's altar

With your ancient friend, San Cipriano

From above, suspended, keep us safe.)

At this point *Mamita Mauricia* and her assistants give the dancers a drink of the juice of *San Pedro* from beautiful conch shells. She continues to shake her rattle and gives various sharp whistles at intervals, which echoes over the ocean and walls of Chan Chan. She then takes a mixture of liquid tobacco with *la reina ayahuasca*, *chicha clara* (strong alcohol) and *San Pedro* (mescaline) through her nose using a conch shell to fit her nostril. She begins to dance around on top of the *Huaca de Colorado Barro* with her arms high and singing, shaking her rattle and playing a *vihuela* in high tones:

Estrella Divina de la Mesa

Ven encarnate a mi alma

A mi cerebro

A mis venas

A mis ojos

A mi cuerpo

Ven Rey mio en silla dorada

En tu caballo de oro bramando

Por los caminos que me ensenastes.

Traemelo del cementario

De la huaca adentro

Del mar

English translation:

(Divine star of the altar  
enter my soul  
my mind  
my veins  
my eyes  
my body  
come my King in your adorned saddle  
with your golden horse  
by the roads you have taught me  
go beyond the cemetery  
inside the huaca  
inside the sea.)

Then *La Maestra's* assistants pass around the San Pedro liquid once more in the beautiful conch shell and everyone drinks from it. She walks away chanting to someone (a spirit) with words that are not distinguishable and takes a conch shell filled with a mixture of the *siete ñustas de wiracocha*, which consist of seven herbs: *el tupac sayri*, *mama coca*, *el sanpedro*, *la ayahuasca*, *las campanillas infernales*, and *misha*, and pours it into her right nostril. She returns to constantly shaking her rattle and chanting, now with more intensity,

calling to all the *huacas*, mountains, and spirits of the sky. She begins to dance once more, with incredible energy. She continues with her song-chants, then pours the mixture of the *siete ñuestas de wiracocha* into her left nostril and drinks *aguardiente* (strong liquor). The dancers sit quietly with full attention on *La Maestra*. *La Maestra* calls again, talking to the deities, the mountains, to the enchanted *huacas*, to the lakes, to the channels of water, to the jungle, to the sea, to unseen spirits. This continues with the intermittent drinking of herb mixtures and alcohol. Sometimes there is a cold silence, and it seems like the earth is shaking. The sea sounds beautiful and looks like an emerald jewel.<sup>21</sup> Everything becomes alive. The stars throw fires across the night sky.

*La Maestra* begins again. She announces she is going to the *Gentil de Huaca Rajada*,<sup>22</sup> to the spirit of the *Huaca Rajada* and she starts to recount the great battles of the Gentiles,<sup>23</sup> the *Curacas*, Mochicas and Chimús. Then she names all of the magical “sisters and brothers,” pointing with one of her swords to different stars: *José Santino*, *Hipolito León*, *Ayan Carden*, *San Cipriano*, and many more. She asks them to open their *huertas*, their gardens of enchantment, to open their herb gardens, their palaces, and to open up for her.

There is another silence and more liquids are consumed. *La Maestra* announces she is going in flight, and invites everyone to go with her to the *chorro Paramo Blanco*. There, she asks the *huaca mi reina* (little queen) permission to initiate her *grande compacto*. She says she is flying through the doors of *Cerro Purgatorio*.<sup>24</sup> She calls a person's name and says, "Open the doors, the larger doors, open the windows, allow me to pass along the beautiful mosaic floors. I have come to invoke the *grande compacto*."

It is as if she was there and greeted someone of noble stature, and says: "there you are with your golden headdress, your leggings made of silver, your staff of gold. You are crowned the king of *sacerdotes*, the king of *Hurinjano*, the king of the *Cordillerano*, the king of the *selva* (jungle), the king of the *montaña*, the king of the herbs, but not the king of Jesucristo, because he is the only one who discredits your herbs, all the vegetation in this world, on this earth that help cure all the children."

Then she asks for the powers and spirits to send away all of her enemies and to enter her mind, her soul, body, eyes, life, heart, and transform her. At this moment, she transforms as another spirit and addresses all of the dancers in order to heal them, protect them, etc.

There is another silence and more liquids are consumed. The Maestra announces she is going to *la Laguna Huaringa*.<sup>25</sup> She begins to chant:

Ay San Pedrito Huandor<sup>26</sup>

Con tu Cerro Vengador

Tus encantos misteriosos

Mi laguna negra, mi mar

Donde el arca del amor

Su delirio lo dejó.

Ahi vienes bajando de mi Huaringa

Ahi viene presentandote

Con su chungana en la mano

Mi Casique Pescador

Cuando se va a su mar

Cuando yo voy recordando

A las pardelas, a las gaviotas,

A los cochos, a los patios,

A los pajaros voladores,

A los ojos, ay de su Reina Negra

Se viene presentandose

Ay de su mar profundo

La playa oloriando

Ay de su mar profundo

Y se viene nadando

Y le vienen curando  
Con todas sus hierbas y vegetales  
Este indigena sacerdote  
Que en ChanChan se enterro  
Con su banco sacerdote.

There is another silence and more herbal liquids are consumed.  
La Maestra continues:

Ahi yo salgo volando  
Ahi voy navegando  
En mi lindo patachito  
Tan palangano como la ola.  
Con mi chungana en la mano  
Te voy levantando, te voy suspendiendo,  
Te voy remesiendo, bufa carajo, bufa...  
San Pedrito Huando venlo presentando  
Venlo acariciando, venlo pues curando.  
Anda para Laguna de Chan Chan,  
Hierba milagrosa, hierba encantada  
Cerro de Campana, Cerro Purgatorio  
Con tu Compacto, Cerro Calavera,  
Ay pues borrachito, ay pues tu perdido  
Pues suspenden en alto Cerro de las Cabras  
Vienes destrocando, vienes pues curando  
Huaca de la Luna, Huaca encantadora



Huaca del Sol, Huaca misterioso  
Cura a mis danzantes, ayuda mis danzantes  
Guarda a mis danzantes.  
Cerro de las Cabras, cerro misterioso  
Ven pues sacudiendo con tus siete aires  
Voy ya pues cansado a mi Michahuanca,  
A Paramo Blanco a banarse en sus poderes.  
Vamos pescadores, vamos a bailar  
En mi mesa hierbatera y sacerdote.

There is another silence and more liquids are consumed. Now everyone gets up and starts dancing on top of the *huaca* to the sounds of the rattle, her chanting, and the *zapateo* of the dancers which seems to echo in the night.

Near the end, before sunrise, *La Maestra* is ready to leave and she says:

Ya sale paseando  
En el Cerro de Campana  
En la falda de las Cabras  
Ahi viene levantando  
A sus animas benditas  
Con su tabaquito.  
Y es de madrugada  
Lindo Gentil Moro

Con tu Vara  
Y tus chontas aguarunas  
Pues levanta a mis danzantes  
Pues bien halagados sean,  
Pues bien recibidos sean.

Then she takes the conch shell and pours the herb mixture again into her nostril, and she honors her spirits who aided her this night:

Por mis Cerros ganaderos  
Por esa huaca, por esos danzantes  
Por esos palacios, por esos gentiles,  
Por mi virgencita del Carmen  
Por las buenas hierbas, en buenas horas  
Que me das las valores, la potencia  
Para curar.

There are a few more chanted sessions, then it is over and La Maestra seems to disappear<sup>27</sup>.

***Analysis (limited)***<sup>28</sup>

In keeping to the theme of the dissertation, my analysis is based on the ceremonial experience as an intersection of the Muchik mythology with ritual. As mentioned previously, before the arrival of the Spanish, the indigenous Muchik people worshiped idols that were

housed in caves, temples, mountains, etc. Priests also lived in these temples and they had shaman-*sacerdote*-like abilities, such as powers to control demons and other supernatural forces and were able to heal and harm people.

When the Roman Catholic Church tried to supplant the indigenous religion, one would suppose the new saints and culture-heroes of this Christian based faith would have replaced those of the old religion.<sup>29</sup> However, among the Muchik fishermen and farmers, the preexisting shamanistic beliefs and practices had and have been superficially incorporated into the framework of the Catholic cosmology. The self-isolated villages of the Muchik have maintained the practices of the diviners and healing, although they were hidden from outsiders. Today in the Muchik villages, the *sacerdote andino* is sometimes called a *Buho*, (an owl spirit which is said to aid night vision and gives great insight) and is considered a powerful figure. The *sacerdote* plays a role essential to the biological, spiritual and cultural survival of her or his community. Their occupation is to divine and to heal, and to combat the malicious influence of evil spirits. In addition, they are the directors of the religious dance groups.

The myths and legends are important as they explain why things are and instruct about basic human values. One of the purposes of

the initiation ceremony for the *Diablada* is to actually experience the myth. As a spiritual leader, *La Maestra* is required to become the receptacle of the divinity or culture-hero she calls to enter her body, and to become the instrument of that spirit. Her expressions, gestures and tone of voice reflect the character of that divinity. In order to do this she drinks a beverage called *siete ñustas de wiracocha*. To evoke and maintain her visions, *La Maestra* chants continually while shaking a rattle, which blocks out extraneous noise and keeps her mind on track.

Basically the ceremony can be divided into three parts. The first is an opening greeting of *La Maestra* to Muchik Deities in the Sky, Earth, Sea and Underground Worlds. The second is *La Maestra's* journeys and requests of aid from her teachers and the Huanchaquero ancestor culture heroes and divinities for the *Diablada* dancers who inhabit the Earth. The third is the realization of all of the requests, and well-being for all humanity.

The major characters in the ceremony are: A-*La Maestra*, B- Sky Divinities, C-*Principes* (her Teachers), D- *Chay-Huac Principe Pescador Sacerdote* (the Chimú ancestor who is supposedly buried in the *huaca* where the ceremony takes place), E- *Peje Grande and Peje Chico* (Chimú ancestors, idols, Golden Fish with Emerald Eyes), F- *Cholo*

*Gentil Moro (cholo Incaico Viejo)* (the Inca ancestor), G- *Gentil de Huaca Rajada* (a great warrior who recounts the great battles of the Gentiles, the *Curacas*, Mochicas, and Chimús), H- *Huaca mi reina de Cerro Purgatorio* (spirit Lord or Lady where she makes a *compacto*), and I-*Diablada* dancers.

### **Synthesis**

A- *La Maestra*, is a spiritual interceptor between the Huanchaco divinities and culture-heroes for the *Diablada*.

B-The Night Sky, the stars (Pleiades) are the first to be evoked as teachers and guardians of the ceremony.

C- *Principes de la Laguna* are asked to be in the Sky and look at everything she does from above for guidance. These are her personal instructors who taught her since she was six years old, at the Huaranga Lakes, upper Piura valley.

D- *Chay-Huac Principe Pescador Sacerdote* is called upon as he is the Chimú ancestor who was considered the most famous *sacerdote*, ruler and fisherman. His tomb is said to be within the *Huaca de Barro Colorado*, where the ceremony is being held.

E-*Peje Grande and Peje Chico* are summoned, as they are the Golden Fish of the Chimú, guardians of the Chimú ancestors.

Prehispanically, these idols had been carried in procession, during the similar festival of *la Mamita*.<sup>30</sup>

F- *Cholo Gentil Moro (cholo Incaico Viejo)* is a homage to the Inca, and this ancestor is called on, however, notice no status is given to him.

G- *Gentil de Huaca Rajada* is a great warrior who recounts the significant battles of the Gentiles, the *Curacas*, Mochicas, and Chimús. *La Maestra* journeys to this *Huaca* and is embodied by a Warrior-Priest spirit. The Warrior-Priest tells lengthy stories of battles, and request the *Diablada* dancers to carry his spirit and be Mochica-Chimú Warriors in the dance.

H- *Huaca mi reinta de Cerro Purgatorio*<sup>31</sup> is the next place where she journeys through the air, to the site of *Cerro Purgatorio*, which is a Lambayeque (Sican) site,<sup>32</sup> almost as large as Chan Chan, near Túcume, in the upper Lambayeque Valley. The foundation of this city is mythically attributed to Naymlap by the *Maestra* and is a center of a marine culture. For the Muchik *sacerdote* this site has very powerful spirits and is where *La Maestra* goes to make a *Compacto* for the *Diablada*. This *Compacto* is a sacred promise between two *sacerdotes*; one is living in the *Huaca* the other is *La Maestra*. The former promises to guard and maintain the health of the *Warrior-Diablada*, the latter

promises to continue to practice healing and divination according to the ancient ways of the Mochica.

*I-Diablada* dancers at this point are warriors and dance furiously on the *Huaca de Barro Colorado*.

The entire ceremony is one of compassion and solidarity of the Huanchaqueros. History and myth are relived and experienced. There is an incredible strength, power and empathy that are derived by this connection between the Huanchaqueros and their ancestors.

### **The Diablada in Huanchaco.**

The coastal *Diablada* is not the same dance as the famous Puno *Diablada*. In fact, the number of *Diablo* groups and dancers are very widely represented within the indigenous religious festivals on the northwest coast of Peru. Sabine McCormick explains:

...When the Spanish arrived..."pagan-native" dances were allowed in Christian religious events only if the native dancers carried with them the name of the *Diablo* (Devil). It was also prescribed that their costume and mask were to include horns and a tail like the Christian "Devil." Furthermore, the pagan indigenous dancers could only represent the antithesis of the "good" Christian way...<sup>33</sup>

The Director of the Huanchaco *Diablada*, José Leyton Beltrán,<sup>34</sup> said their dance motifs were brought in and taught by *sacerdote* *Señor* Quesquin from Ayabaca, a sacred place of small lakes near Piura, several hundred years ago.



Figure 8.4 The *Diablada* -a watercolor painting from the collection of Baltazar Jaime Martínez Campañón, bishop of Trujillo, end of the eighteenth century. Compare with figure 2.1 *Diablado* dancers enter Trujillo. The musical instrument, the *quijada* (top center) is found in both. The concertina has replaced the stringed instrument. The masks and costumes are different. Yet the lively dance called the *Diablada* existed from the eighteenth century in the Trujillo area of the Moche Valley.

José Leyton Beltran started dancing at the age of eleven, learning from his father, who had been the Director. In 1960, he took



over this father's position as Director and said, "I will be Director until God tells me I can't". In 1960 there were fifty to sixty dancers. In 1995 there were approximately 160 dancers. The group is growing. The 160 dancers were divided into four groups of forty, with a *Capitaz* (Captain) at the head of each. The *Capitaz* of the group I danced with was José Leyton, nephew of the Director.

### ***Choreography.***<sup>35</sup>

There are twelve dance *numeros* (motifs), which are performed in a particular order, then repeated. Each of these dance *numeros* contains mythic episodes.<sup>36</sup>

*Número 1: Avanzar* (advance) is the basic running with a double hop. It can also be done in place. The *Avanzar* establishes and recognizes the first rainbow beings, constantly hopping from the earth to the sky. There are two lines of dancers; the duality of the world is set.

*Número 2: Atrás* (backwards) is the reverse of running forward, with a double hop. The dancers dance backwards. The *Atrás* symbolizes the connection with the realms of the dead; the ancestors whose traditions the dancers must connect with and maintain.

*Número 3: Cadena* (chain) is in opposition with the other line of dancers as they weave through and around their partner. The *cadena*

represents the harmony between two forces, the moon and sun, sky and earth, love and anger. This chain is never broken and never-ending.

*Número 4: Circulo* (circle) as each line makes a circle. Two separate *circulos* or circles are made. They are synonymous with a duality of cycles, as the sky cycle of stars, moon, and sun, with the earth cycle, the seasons, oceans currents and the cycle of human life.

*Número 5: Cara a cara* (face to face) is facing the partner, while the dance of *Numero 1:Avanzar* is done in place. *Cara a cara* represents a mirroring of the two worlds Sky and Earth. When they mirror each other in perfect rhythm, victory is assured.

*Número 6: Al lado* (to the side) is when the dancers dance side by side with their partner. *Al Lado*, dancing side-by-side, guarantees creation and the continuity of time and space, which fuses the individual with the community. The isolated individual spirit is brought into a conscious harmony with the indigenous world.

*Número 7: Traina* (fish net, Mochica) is when each line makes a circle and then swings a whip side to side. *Traina* brings the *Peje Grande* and *Peje Chica* (golden fish deities) to life; the whip is a symbol for lightning and thunder. The fisherman's Net of the Sea is compared to the deity's Net of the Sky.

*Número 8: Zapateo* (foot stomping) is an energetic dance pattern, alternating toe and heel with multiple jumps and turns in the air. *Zapateo* is when you connect with your animal spirit. From your animal spirit, you gain strength, power and wisdom.

*Número 9: Unido* (united) is when the two lines combine to make one line, which becomes a large circle with multiple turns and jumps. All dancers embrace their power animal and their protector, a reflection of their deepest selves and dance together as a whole.

*Número 10: Cruzes* (crosses) is when the two lines are reconstructed, and now cross in front of each other, shoulder to shoulder. *Cruzes* creates the pattern of the indigenous cross, a symbolic representation of mysterious natural orderings. There is a harmony in maintaining diversity, dialectic of contrary forces that are confronted without being annihilated as, day/night, sky/sea, and an invading culture/the indigenous life.

*Número 11: Cruzes con zapateo* (one leg crosses in front of the other with small leaps) is the combination of the indigenous cross with your animal spirit. The animal spirit protects you.

*Número 12: Corazon*<sup>37</sup> (heart) is when the dancers make a large heart with *La Mamita* written inside it. This is to honor *La Mamita*,

*Mama Colla*, as the Earth Mother, the *Pachamama*, call her forward and bring her to life.

RULES OF THE DIABLADA. There are rules of discipline for the dancers. You can never take off your mask during the dance and procession. You cannot sit down, but must remain standing or in motion. There can be no disorderly behavior and you must be respectful at all times. The dance is arranged; if a step is missed, the whip of the Capitaz or Director falls. In addition, each dancer must not eat anything with the spice *aji*, have sexual intercourse, or drink strong *aguardiente* – only *chicha*.<sup>38</sup>

### ***Procession of the Diablada.***

The procession and dancing lasts for five hours every day, from approximately 3 to 8 pm (depending on the position of the sun). The procession follows the *Camino Alto del Rey* (old king's [Chimú] road) that had been used to connect Chan Chan and Huanchaquito. Stops are made at sacred *Huacas* (see map 8.1).

*A-Huaca de Barro Colorado*, tomb and resting place of the great *sacerdote*/fisherman ancestor Chay Huac.

B-*Huaca El Gran Wachaque*, a lake in a rectangular shape, 115 meters long by 60 meters wide and 13 meters deep inside Chan Chan where the ancestors grew their *totorales* reeds.

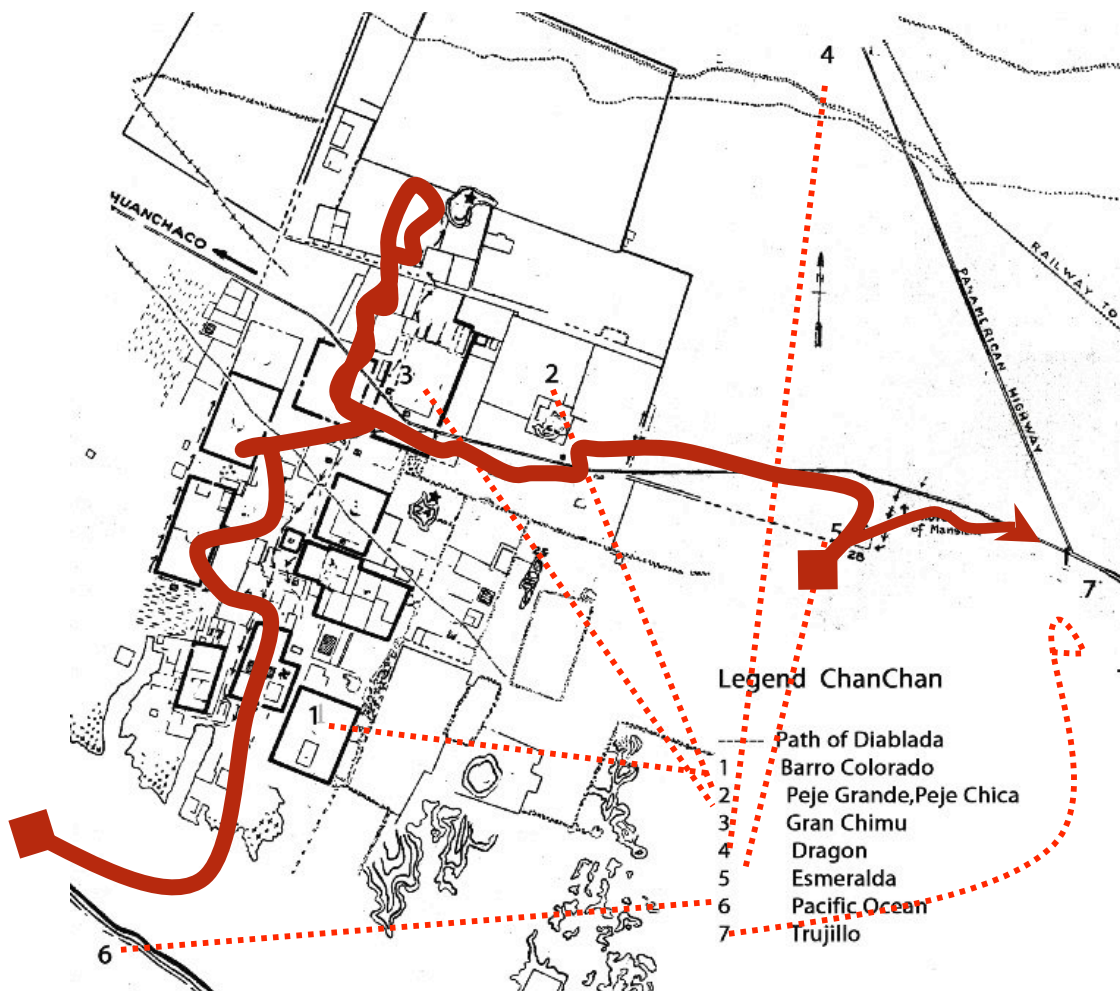
C-*Huaca de Peje Grande* and *Peje Chica*, a sacred place inside Chan Chan where the spirit of the golden fish with emerald eyes rests.

D-*Huaca Taska*, the sacred place to call the deity of the tidal wave, which becomes angry approximately every fifty years. It is the center point in the main palace of the ancestor *Gran Chimo-Cápac*. At approximately 4 pm and then at midnight, when the wind changes direction, the dancing echoes in a strange manner against the high walls.

E-*Huaca Tres Shilquitos* is where there is a small church of *San José*. For the fishermen, this is the sacred place where the last *Caciques* of the Piminchumus, Huamanchumus, and Chilmazas, with their princess wives, made offerings of *chalhua*,<sup>39</sup> *yucca* and *camote* to the *Mamapacha* every five years.

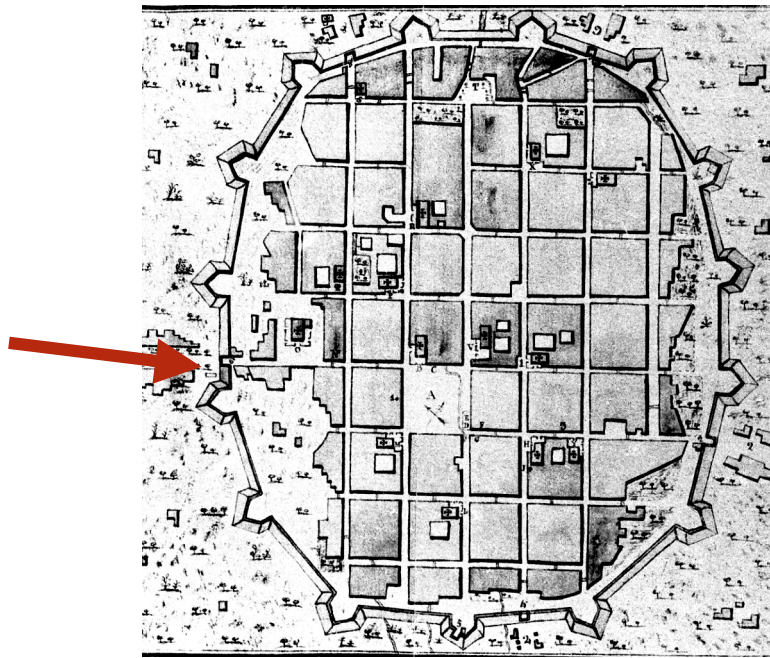
F-*Huaca Huaman*, a pre-Hispanic sacred temple.

G-*Huaca Mansiche*, also a pre-Hispanic temple of great importance.



Map 8.1<sup>40</sup>

Path of *Diablada* through ChanChan along the ancient *Camino del Rey* to Trujillo. If you start at 1 then follow the to 3—2—5, is approximately the path. (there is a short detour from 3 to the \* and back again. They always enter through the gate from Mansiche. Mansiche was where the last Chimú rulers were buried, after the Spanish encounter.



Map 8.2      Martínez Campañón    eighteenth century Map of Trujillo. The city wall was built by the labor of the ancestors of the Mochica and Chimú. They made city gates open toward Mansiche, *Huaca del Dragón*, the *Sierra*, and Moche. If you start at the middle of the left side of the map at the red arrow you will see the Mansiche gate. Then clockwise at the middle of the top is to *Huaca el Dragon*, right side is to the *Sierra*, and the bottom of the map opens towards Moche. The *Diabla* in procession always enter through the Manische gate. The fiesta of *La Mamita* is to honor and respect their ancient ancestors who are buried in Mansiche.

Then the procession enters Trujillo and the fishermen and dancers seem to take it by storm. For thirty days, the procession slowly makes its way "like a giant serpent"<sup>41</sup> to Trujillo and then makes the long journey back to Huanchaco. The dancers can walk back to Huanchaco if they are needed by their family. However, most

stay with invited families (*esperadores*) to protect the *Mamita* and to participate in the regular healing ceremonies at night with *La Maestra*.

### **Mask and Costume of the Diablada.**

The mask is made of sheepskin with wool, and were previously made with coastal llama skin.<sup>42</sup> It is connected with a metal mesh on which a face is painted. Between the mask and the dancer's head, a red cotton cap is worn, which you cannot see. The costume is made from a cloth called *piel de angel* and is the seven colors of the rainbow. There are two parts to the costume: 1) pants connected with a drawstring, and 2) a knee-length tunic made to come at the waist and over the pants. Sparkles and approximately one hundred little bells are sewn onto the costume to make it sparkle and jingle in rhythm to the dance. Leggings and gloves are made of red cotton. Each dancer carries a whip made of tightly wrapped red cloth, with end pieces made to make a sound that resembles lightning.

The sparkling rainbow-colored dancers are representative of the mythic First Beings who connected the Sky and the Earth, bringing Rain and Lightning. For the festival to be successful, the exact execution of dance steps and exact repetition of sounds are required to set loose the patterns of change and maintain the cycles of the Sky, Sea, and Earth—the cycles for growth and life. When the roads were



not paved, everyone danced barefoot. Today white sneakers are worn, and used only for the *Diablada* dance.

The Director is in all red and carries a *palito* to punish misbehaviors. The color red, he said is the color symbolic of the ancestors. Red is also a color of power, life, blood and protection from adversities.



Figure 8.4 Diablada in Trujillo,<sup>43</sup> the Director and dancers at rest in front of the Cathedral of Trujillo, Plaza de Armas.

Other members of the *Diablada* are the *China Diabla*, her children (*diablitos*) and San Miguel, the Archangel. The *China Diabla* is a man dressed as a woman.<sup>44</sup> The *China Diabla* is allowed to make all kinds of mischief, purposely doing the dances wrong, and at times running into the crowd, flirting with others in procession, etc. She is never punished, and there are often humorous interactions between her and the Director. The Archangel wears white and carries a sword. The Archangel is a *Sacerdote Andino*, representing a Sky Deity. In Trujillo in the Plaza de Armes in front of the Main Cathedral, there is a mock battle between the Archangel and the Director of the *Diablada*. The Archangel usually wins.

### **Musical Instruments of the Diablada.**

The Director plays a continuous *Diablado* melody on a concertina. José Leyton Beltran inherited it from his father, who imported it from Germany. The Director also plays the sacred *quijada* which is painted red. The *quijada* originated as a Afro-Caribbean instrument and was designed by the African slaves during the Colonial period. The *quijada* is the lower jaw of a donkey or horse. When the jaw is dried properly, the molars can rattle in the jaw without falling out. The instrument is played by holding it with one hand and punched it on the side to make the teeth rattle in their sockets. The

sound is amplified by the bone structure itself. Only the Director or Captains play the *quijada*. It is the rhythm and the sound of the *quijada* that cues the dancers.<sup>45</sup> Particular percussive rhythms indicate the specific dance choreography to be executed. When you wear the mask, the only sounds you hear are the *quijada* and the jingles of the dancers.



Figure 8.5 A *quijada*.

The *quijada* is more than a rustic percussive instrument. To the non-indigenous ear, the rhythms and sounds are monotonous, listless, sharp and tedious. Yet this instrument is the most sacred and important musical instrument for the ritual of *la Mamita*. “Used in Muchik ceremony, the *quijada* allows *sacerdotes* to connect to other spirits,” says José Leyton.

The other musical instrument for the *Diablada* is the concertina. The melodies of the concertina cannot be heard inside the mask. Emotionally, the sounds are poetic, repetitive musical phrases. Frequent pauses increase the emotion. The melody of the concertina contrasts with the lively dancers and *quijada*, establishing another duality.



Figure 8.6 A concertina.

The Muchik sacred melodies and rhythm are always associated with the dance. The instruments are associated with various aspects of nature. For example, the percussive *quijada* supplants the pre-Hispanic double-headed drum, or *bombo*. It is linked to the *robolo* (giant sea bass), which is said to play its rhythm in the sea, especially during turbulent times. The high-pitched tones of the concertina replace those of the *quena* and *zampoña*. “When played by the

fisher/musician, it reproduces the call of the *Huanchaco*, a friendly sea bird with red near the chest which shows the fishermen where to fish, but which raises havoc on the new corn of the farmers,” says José Leyton.

An overwhelming part of the music and dance in the Muchik sacred rituals is its aspect of identical regular repetitive rhythms. These rhythms are purposely used to break the barrier that separates the conscious and the unconscious mind. As the conscious mind becomes disconnected, mental perceptions emerge in a dream-like state.<sup>46</sup> This type of rhythm is very simple and basic to the natural rhythms found in the waves of the sea, the flowing of the river, falling rain and the heartbeat. The stated intended purpose of *La Maestra's* rhythmic chants and rattles and the *Diablada quijada* and jingles is to call the spirits and communicate with them. The biological effect causes the mind to enter a trance-like state.<sup>47</sup> The result is an enhancement of mental awareness with full and participatory consciousness. *La Maestra* explains, “Go to a desolate, isolated place where you happen to find a drum, and it occurs to you to play on it; then, you will see the entire world.”<sup>48</sup>

### ***Purpose of the Diablada.***

Externally, the dancers' role is to protect *La Mamita* in procession. For the fishermen, she is not the saint figure the church assumes her to be. In legend, she is referred to as *La Eterna Viajera* (the eternal traveler). *Sacerdote Mamita Maurcia*<sup>49</sup> explains (English translation, followed by Spanish transcription):

The Eternal Traveler will bring back to life the language of the *Yunga* (coastal people), as she plays the Warrior Conch trumpet. As the Princess of the Fishermen, she will bring them back to life. As the Deity of Love and as a Mother, she will bring them back into the light with songs of splendor. This is whom the dancers are guarding. They dance either in front or behind of the litter, making sure nothing happens from outsiders. The *Diablado*-Warriors are a mighty force. as they enter Trujillo.<sup>50</sup>

(El Viajero Eterno devolverá la vida al idioma del Yunga (personas costeras), como ella toca la trompeta de Caracola del Guerrero. Como la Princesa de los Pescadores, ella los traerá a la vida. Como la Deidad del Amor, como una Madre, ella los traerá a la luz con canciones de esplendor. Estos son a quiénes los bailarines protegen. Ellos bailan en frente o detrás del litro, cerciorándose que nada suceda con los intrusos. Los Guerreros-Diableados aparecen como una fuerza poderosa a como ellos toman el centro urbano de Trujillo.)

Internally, for each individual dancer the dance is a personal sacrifice. It is a way to show respect and gratitude to all of the sacred spirits: the mountains, sea, sky, the winds, the various fishes, the sea bass, the ray fish, the crabs, the *muymuy*, etc. The Huanchaqueros know they disturb these spirits in daily life. Therefore, to avoid reprisals and to assure their own survival; to make sure lightning does

not strike them, that their ponds and rivers do not flood, that the sea becomes angry and destroys their fishing grounds and their village, a sacrifice must be made. To the Huanchaqueros there are no natural catastrophes; rather, everything is decided by higher forces that must be won over with sacrifices.

The *Diablada* of Huanchaco perform primarily for the festival of *La Mamita*. This group is also sought out, invited and supported by neighboring villages, such as Moche, Otuzco, Viru, Sinsicap and Huamachuco. The Moche, Viru and Otuzco *Diablada* adapted<sup>51</sup> their style of dance from the Huanchaco *Diablada*.

### **The Pallitas of Huanchaco.**<sup>52</sup>

The *Pallitas* is the complimentary partner/opposition musical group to the *Diablada*. Their name is Quechua and they are identified as “Ladies of Honor for the *Mamita*.”<sup>53</sup> “They wear white, the colors of purity and love,” said Josepha Cumpa, the Director of the group. They sing and dance for the *Mamita*, when she leaves Huanchaco and the day she returns to Huanchaco. They sing without instrumental accompaniment. Their songs are of longing, to make sure she will return to Huanchaco.

The lyrics of a departing verse are:

Adiós madre querida

Adiós mi dulce amor  
Adiós Reina del Cielo  
Adiós, adiós, adiós.

English translation is:

(Goodbye my dear mother  
Goodbye my sweet love  
Goodbye my Queen of the Sky  
Goodbye, goodbye, goodbye.)

Then when she returns to Huanchaco, the songs are more joyful.

Si Ana María Huamanchauco y  
Antonio Salvador Chay-Huac,  
Vivieran en su kaleta  
Hoy día bialaran marinera  
Con el cura Deán Saavedra  
En la fiesta de Socorro.

English translation:

(If Ana María Huamanchuco (Chimú princess)  
and Chay-Huac (her husband, a *cacique*)  
were to come to this inlet (Huanchaco)  
Today they would dance the *marinera*  
With the priest Dean Saavedra  
In the festival of Socorro)



IN SUM.

It is difficult to sum up an experience that goes beyond academic scientific study. Dance, music, rattles and chants built a temporary bridge to the fisherman's inner world. Without having to be too abstract or being lost in technical details, one can be guided to partially understand what might exist in that transcendent space-dimension of the fisherman's world. Whether we name it "spiritual space" or the "etheric" world, or even a "fourth dimension," terms do not matter because we begin to see with the eyes of a higher level of intelligence.

#### **THE HARVEST FESTIVAL OF MOCHE, SAN ISIDRO.**

The next festival in the cycle takes place in Moche from April to May. In Moche it is a time of plenty, and in the *sierra* and fishing villages it is a time of scarcity. Although the basic Muchik mentality is common to the fishermen and farmers, each village has unique characteristics and preferences for the events of their sacred ceremonies and festivals.

THE JOURNEY. In Moche, San Isidro prefers the journey through the *campiña* and visits with the Moche farmer families for feasting, drinking and dancing. The ritual journey establishes a concrete

connection between the Mocheros and their living space. The flowing water in the *acequias* where their ancestors' spirits live defines the boundary of their path. Collective memories recall the events that took place, such as the flooding of the river, the droughts and the changing seasons. As the journey is made with their deity spirit, a supernatural map of the landscape is revealed. Gradually the mythic history of the plants and animals in the environment merges with the local historical events and a powerful high-level alliance manifests and strengthens their local identity and cultural traditions.<sup>54</sup>

In the village of Moche, when the Moche River is most turbulent and flows its heaviest and when the largest corn and fruit harvests are in, the Mochero farmers celebrate a forty-seven day festival with their agricultural guardian San Isidro<sup>55</sup> Labrador, from approximately March 30 to May 16 (when the Pleiades leave the Night Sky). Every day at 4 p.m., the saint is led in snakelike fashion through the Moche campiña, a level valley with fields of corn, large fruit trees and small farm houses. As the sun moves across the sky, so does the saint figure proceed along the farmlands. Little by little San Isidro makes his journey alongside the pre-Hispanic sacred *acequias* towards the protector mountain Cerro Blanco, approaching their ancestors who live

in the Huacas de la Luna and del Sol, to where the Moche River enters their farmlands.

Every festival day the San Isidro brass band surrounds the procession. It excites and calls the Mocheros to accompany the friendly saint along the dusty farm paths. Those who hear it feel a comforting warmth, which seems to protect them from the melancholy and tragedies of their mundane, everyday world. They splash through the irrigation ditches into the winding procession. The music is continuous with minimal breaks. The tunes bathe the procession, flowing down the *acequias*, flooding the dark corners, bringing peace and joy. It is as if through the music and the procession, the world is once again restored.

Each evening, San Isidro must reach the next farmhouse with its altar of fruit before the sun goes down. So as the sun starts to descend, the band picks up the tempo and off they go, stirring up the dust raised by feet of people marching rapidly and gaily along. The saint and his litter, laden with fruit and vegetables, are heavy so the Mocheros move at a fast clip past the leafy elder trees that grow next to the *acequias* and through the strong *algarroba* trees that grow everywhere. With the cool sea breezes behind the saint, the procession crosses fields of corn, alfalfa, *yucas*, past the giant miracle

reeds, *totorá*<sup>56</sup> that grow on the banks of the generous Moche river and past the snails that move slowly along the slightly elevated *lomas*. It moves past the frogs, lizards, hummingbirds, and foxes, and across the road where the trucks bring products to exchange to the hillside, which are today *Pueblo Joven Alto Moche* or *Miramar* and where peanuts, *ají* and gourds are grown.

THE VISIT. Slowly moving with the sun, the procession moves towards the Moche River and San Isidro finally reaches the next devotee's farmhouse. Fireworks announce the saint's arrival. Becoming a devotee is almost a certain guarantee that San Isidro will bless your household. Tall wax candles are lit, and near San Isidro's altar the Moche landowner humbly distributes bottles of *chicha* and a spicy Moche specialty, *pepión*, to everyone. Throughout the night, the pilgrims drink and eat heartily and dance in Moche style; the *marinera*, *huayño*, *vals costeño*, *festijo* and *cumbia*. They dance unceasingly heedless of the change of light or passage of time. The saint seems to shine for the owners of the house; for this one day out of the year, the saint is theirs. The Moche pilgrims share this feeling of joy. San Isidro is real and alive for the Mocheros. They speak to him silently with their thoughts and he listens and sometimes answers. Promises to the

saint must be kept or disaster will befall your family. Also, if you do not attend his festival, he will become angry. Next year your crops will fail or someone close to you will become seriously ill. If he feels the festival was poorly attended, he will reduce the amount of water arriving from the rainfall in the *sierra* that fills the Moche River.

AT THE SHRINE. At the Moche river, all Muchik religious attributes are in play. At 10 a.m. San Isidro is in procession and arrives with all the usual powerful voices of the brass instruments that always seem to dazzle and exalt the Mocheros. Usually two other invited bands are present to honor the Moche deity and to participate in a competitive "Battle of the Bands." In 1996, the invited bands were from Morrope and Huamachuco, famous for their musical families.

The Moche River is the Shrine. It floods the thoughts of the Mocheros with courage. *Sacerdote Azabache* says, "When the river flows, dreams are calmed, mournful images, doubts, evil memories are erased."<sup>57</sup> At the river/shrine, the villagers seem to be relieved of their everyday burdens and renewed. To honor the connection between San Isidro and the river, a large altar is decked with selections of the best fruit produced that year carefully attached along its frame, followed by much dancing, drinking and feasting.

PURPOSE OF THE HARVEST FESTIVAL. Historically, before the arrival of the Spanish, the coastal people had a "series of rites calculated to insure abundant harvests."<sup>58</sup> Today, the harvest festival seems to be a continuum based on the Muchik beliefs.<sup>59</sup> *Sacerdote Anhuamán* says, "He prefers to celebrate in the fresh air, as to see the suffering Christ so silent in the Church, through the smoke of the candles, makes him uneasy, makes him suffer."

In the fields, San Isidro is theirs. He is a Mochero. He belongs in the fields near the river. When San Isidro is firmly installed under his fruit alter he looks exactly like a Mochero, with his straw *sombrero*, colorful cotton *poncho*, and *alforjas* (saddle bags) woven in the Moche design. He even has his own fields (land dedicated to San Isidro) and the produce harvested from it is used to provide food for the saint's primary feast day.

The *huaca* San Isidro is the guardian of the fields, without his goodwill, the soil will not yield. San Isidro is also the protector of the *acequias* or irrigation canals. As a rule, the Mocheros engage in reciprocal exchanges with their sacred *huacas*. Offerings and sacrifices are exchanged for the superhuman powers from the spirit. The Mochero farmers demand it as a right, as compensation for the favors

they have rendered. An example of the reciprocal obligation is told by

*Sacerdote Azabache:*<sup>60</sup>

Once the rains were late and the land was dry for almost a month. So we had a *procession de sangre*. We went to the church, got San Isidro from his corner disrobed him and then, we stood him in the dry *acequia*, practically naked. We were angry, you see. We confronted him and asked him: "San Isidro, you are our most beloved of all our deities. We gave you a glorious feast, procession and festival for several days. ... Why are you not doing anything about the drought? Don't you realize we need water for our fields?" So, San Isidro stood naked in the dry *acequia* for three days and three nights. Amazingly, after those three days and nights, the church bells rang at 4am, and water was flowing in the canals. It was amazing. And so, we gave him a even grander festival the next year and made him beautiful clothes.

In addition to San Isidro, the Mocheros celebrate and make offerings to the deity of the Pleiades before they disappear, to the Spirit of the Moon believed to be more powerful than the Sun (She was their First Sky Guardian);<sup>61</sup> and to Corn Mother and First Corn-Warrior with libations of *chicha* to the Earth. The Toad, the Serpent, and the Jaguar Deity Spirits are worshipped in ceremonies with *sacerdotes* from midnight until dawn, on top of the guardian *Huaca Cerro Blanco*.

### **Music and Dance of the Moche Harvest Festival.**

There are two types of dances at the festival: 1) the ones who follow and protect San Isidro, and 2) those who perform in the theatre

and social dances on the feast day in the main Moche plaza in front of San Isidro's altar.

### ***Diablada***

The group that accompanies the procession are the Moche version of the *Diablada*, similar to those at Huanchaco. The Moche *Diablada* only dance during the harvest festival of San Isidro, are directed by *sacerdotes*, and represent the spirit of the original corn warriors. They say their dance steps and choreography originated with the *Diablada* group from Huanchaco. The *sacerdote* had lived in Huanchaco, then moved to Moche.

The choreography resembles nine of the Huanchaco *números*, with different meanings according to the mythology and oral history that has been retained by the Moche *sacerdotes*. The steps are exactly the same as the Huanchaco *números* 1-9 and are summarized as an endnote.<sup>62</sup> The musical instruments of the *Moche Diablada* are the *quijada* and the concertina similar to the description of the Huanchaco *Diablada*.

### ***Theater Dance : El Condor y los Españoles.***

There are also the theatre dances, perhaps brought in by the Spanish in the seventeenth century. One dance the Spanish



introduced is the symbolic battle of the *los Cristianos y los Moros* (Christians and the Moors). Presumably it was taught to the “heathen” coastal people in an effort to convert them to Christianity, or at least to teach the Christian ethics of Good and Evil. The Mocheros today, have transformed it to *El Condor y los Españoles* (the Condor and the Spanish). The result of the battle is the Condor wins and castrates the Spanish leader in front of the church.

***Theater Dance : Huanchacho Diablada Raids Moche Campiña.***

Another important dramatic dance is created by the *Diablada* group from Huanchaco. Mysteriously, stealthily, they appear in the Moche community the night before the central feast day. All night, they run through the *campiña*, ransacking the Moche *chacras* (fields) stealing fruit and vegetables from the fields developed expressively for San Isidro. They run with their whips slashing and frightening the Moche villagers. The stolen produce is then placed at the feet and altar of the saint, to be distributed to everyone at the end of the feast day. They will also ransack anyone’s private hoarding of goods. San Isidro does not approve of private, selfish accumulation of wealth.

### ***Social Dance : La Marinera.***

A social dance that becomes ritualized during the month long journey of the Moche pilgrims is the *marinera* because it is one of San Isidro's favorites. The *marinera* is a popular musical dance that originated from the sixteenth century Spanish *contra-danza*. Today, the Mocheros are distinguished as the champion *marinera* dancers of Northern Peru. Champion María de la Rosa describes the dance as "a ritualistic love dance between two doves (*palomas*)," and says it is probably San Isidro who actually intervenes so the Mocheros can win.



Figure 8.7 *La Marinera* Dancers in Trujillo 1995.

The *marinera* is considered the national dance of Peru. In Moche the preferred musical instruments for the *marinera* are the guitar, *cajón* and voice. The guitar used by the Mochero is a six string,

double course instrument introduced by the Spanish in the sixteenth century.<sup>63</sup> It is either plucked or strummed. The standard tuning is:

E A d g b e.

The *cajón* produces the rhythmic elements. It is a wooden box held between the knees and lower legs and played with both hands (see figure 8.8). The *cajón* was invented in Peru by the Afro-Caribbean slaves who were brought in by the Spanish to work the farms on the coast. In Peru, the slaves lost their original African language and customs. They constructed a new identity mixed with the colonial Spanish and the indigenous coastal cultures. At the beginning they were allowed to play *tambores* and *marimbas*. Later although the Spanish colonists prohibited the use of all percussive instruments, the rhythms remained and were played on wooden tables and wooden windowsills by tapping bottles with a stick, with *palmas* (hand clapping), and *zapateos* (dancing). By the twentieth century the *cajón* was created as a wooden box constructed exclusively to make music. It was designed to be extremely versatile and easy to play using only the hands and according to the musician's personal aesthetics. Various hand techniques developed such as using the fingertips, playing with open or cupped palms and the low or high hand placement on the box.

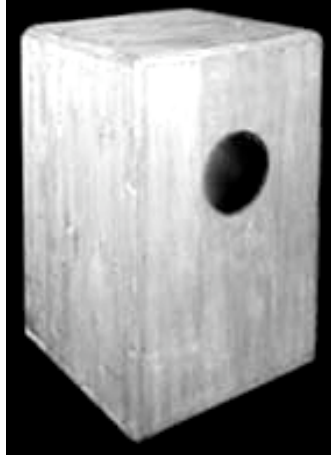


Figure 8.8      A *cajón*. The *Cajón* was invented in Peru by the ancestors of Afro-Caribbean slaves in the twentieth century.

In Moche it accompanies several dance genres as *la marinera*, *el tondero*, *el golpe' tierra*, *la habanera*, *el landó*, *el festéjo*, *la polka*, and *la vals*.<sup>64</sup> The rhythms of these dances are influenced by the Afro-Caribbean *ritmos*. This is why the genres mentioned above all have interesting syncopated patterns. For example, in the *marinera* the syncopated pulse is two beats against three.

tuntuntun tuntun tun  
tuntuntun tuntun tun

IN SUM, the Mocheros believe that music, dance and mythology have always been inseparably bound. *Sacerdote* Azabache says (English translation, followed by the Spanish transcription),

Music came from the sky deities, who sent it to earth with the wind, thunder, the sea, and birds. The first drum came from the thunder. The *conch* shell, and gourd seed rattles<sup>65</sup> still sing the basic note of nature's music. There are different sounds for planting and harvest which help us to connect to our deities. The Moon deity influences sweet and gentle music, the Sun influences energetic and lively music.

(La música vino de las deidades de Cielo, que lo mandó a la Tierra con el Viento, con el Trueno, con el Mar, y con los Pájaros. El primer tambor vino del Trueno. El concha, y matracas de semilla de calabaza cantan todavía la nota básica de la música de la naturaleza. Hay sonidos diferentes para plantar y cosechar que nos ayuda a conectar con nuestras deidades. La deidad de la Luna influye la música dulce y apacible, el Sol influye la música energética y viva. Es importante tener un equilibrio.)

### **The Harvest Festival in Huamachuco.**

The third and last festival in the cycle takes place in the *sierra* village of Huamachuco. Part of the material for Huamachuco is multimedia<sup>66</sup> and is presented as an introduction to the village, surrounding landscape and the dance of the *Ingas* and *Ñustas* in ceremony.

***The Ingas and Ñustas of the Huamachuco Sierra Harvest Festival.***<sup>67</sup>

This “feed the earth mother” fiesta one of the largest harvest celebrations in Northern Peru, takes place from the end of July until the 20<sup>th</sup> of August.



Figure 8.9 Children walking in the *sierra* near Huamachuco, 1996.

***BRIEF DESCRIPTION OF THE DANCE PERFORMANCE.***

The *Ingas* and the *Ñustas* are considered to be the direct descendents of *Wamansiri*, *Catequil* and *Cautagen*.<sup>68</sup> At the end of July

they begin their ritual journey to the festival from their *caserio Paranshique*, protected by their guardian spirit *Waman*, the black-collared hawk. On the 14<sup>th</sup> of August, the feast day, the dancers enter the main plaza of the town of Huamachuco. They are said to be connected with the spirit of *Catequil* and become like Warriors. They wave the *honda* (sling) as if this is Catequil's sling with Thunder and Lightning and their dance is fierce and violent. As they near the center square, they perform a complicated choreography of the movements of the Sun and the Moon. Using a long ribbon-like cloth (*soga*), they weave celestial movements of the Sky. First they are a chain, then make a zigzag of several parts until the Sun is created. Similarly the phases of the Moon are created until the full Moon is represented. This dance is serious and takes about four to five hours to finish. The *Ingas* then, reenact historical scenes; one is the capture of the Inca Atahualpa. They end with a couple dance, the *huaynito* with a "golden" handkerchief.



Figure 8.10 Drawing of the *Inga* dancer by a Huamachuco high school student 1996.<sup>69</sup> Note the *llauto* (crown)<sup>70</sup> with sun and three feathers in the front (there is a the crescent moon on the back) and his *Hondo* (sling) is on the right, held in his hand. Each of the *Ilurimpas* (skirts) is a different color. A *manta* (shawl) is on his shoulders perhaps similar to the hawk's collar.





Figure 8.11 Drawing of *Ñusta* by Huamachuco high school student, 1996. Note: on her head is a crown of different colored flowers; she has flowers carried on her back, she carries more flowers in her basket, her dress is brightly colored, and she carries a handkerchief to dance the *huayno* with.

The *Ñustas* are women who communicate with the spirits of the Earth Mother and *Cautagan*. They accompany the group of the *Ingas* and wear a crown of multicolored flowers. On their shoulder is a collection of flowers and on their chest is a mirror, which represents the deity of *Atagujó*. They have a handkerchief in each hand to dance with and their blouse and skirt are traditional with brilliant colors. This group has a choreography similar to the *Ingas* but is not as aggressive. While they are dancing, they sing:

Desde lejos he venido, A ver este senora  
Patrona de este pueblo; La Madre de el redentor  
Con permiso pues senora; Para pasar a adorarla  
Y ofrecerlo a sus plantas; El perfume de flores...

They also sing a very sad song of the capture of the Inca Atahualpa in Cajamarca, accompanied by a violin.<sup>71</sup>

The *Ingas* and the *Nustas* are led by their *sacerdote*-directors who organize and instruct them in the geometric part of the dance. The *sacerdotes* wear a short *poncho*, a mask from which hangs a vine of the *chayote* plant, and carries antlers in his hand. Inside the antlers is a small lizard referred to as a *perrita* (little dog).

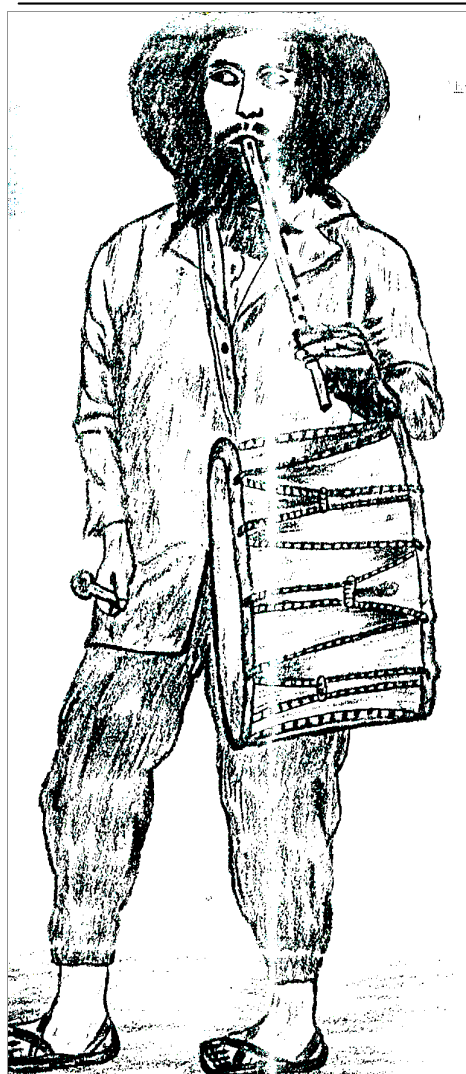


Figure 8.12 Drawing of *Cajero* by Huamachuco high school student, 1996. Good *cajeros* are difficult to find and are in high demand in Huamachuco. They are the official musicians for the *Ingas* and generally follow the *sacerdote*.

The *Cajero* is the musician for the *Ingas*. He plays the flute and drum, and both melody and harmony at the same time. There are usually about two *cajeros* per *Inga* group.

IN SUM, together the sacred festivals of Huanchaco, Moche and Huamachuco form a continuous spiritual cycle that connects the three worlds: the sea, the earth and the mountains (close to the sky). The festivals are not isolated occasions, rather they form an interconnected fabric of sacred time. It is important to participate in all three rituals so that nothing of their world will be lost or out of sync. The time and space of the festival is determined by the *sacerdote*. However, the real director of the ceremonies is "invisible." And that is all I am allowed to say.<sup>72</sup>

## Endnotes to Chapter Eight, pp. 126-185

<sup>1</sup> Díaz Sánchez, 1995:74.

<sup>2</sup> Juan Ossio, 1973:43, L. Sullivan, 1988.

<sup>3</sup> Walter Díaz Sánchez, personal communication, 1996. The construction of the Catholic Church was generally, on top of the indigenous *huacas*, in contrast to the Inca who placed their temples to the side of the original indigenous ones (Schaedel, personal communication, 1996).

<sup>4</sup> Fisherman/historian J. Walter Díaz Sánchez, 1995.

<sup>5</sup> Calancha, 1638, bk.3, ch.2.

<sup>6</sup> Fisherman/historian J. Walter Díaz Sánchez and Ethnographer Antonio Rodriguez Suysuy, personal communication, 1996.

<sup>7</sup> Eliade, 1964: 320-3.

<sup>8</sup> Duviols in Pachacuti, 2003: 30-58.

<sup>9</sup> Personal communication, 1996.

<sup>10</sup> Díez Sánchez, personal communication, 1996.

<sup>11</sup> *Palla* is a Quechua word for "braided-one," or lady of honor. (*Sacerdote* Orlando Vera, personal communication, Huanchaco, 1996).

<sup>12</sup> José Leyton Beltrán, personal communication, 1995.

<sup>13</sup> The only reason I was allowed to participate, was due to the influence of my *commadre*, María Isabel Piñillos Rosél de Bazán. Although she was a member of the elite class, as a young girl she fished with the Huachaqueros and lived among them as friends. Later, as the daughter of an extremely wealthy family, she used her wealth to build a school, build a medical clinic, restore the ancient church, and aided all the Huanchaquero families in times of need.

<sup>14</sup> José Leyton Beltrán, personal communication 1995.

<sup>15</sup> Meaning the Leader or Instructor, the one in charge; *Sacerdote Mamita Mauricia*, personal communication, 1995.

<sup>16</sup> The fishermen use their own names for the *huacas*. For example the Toledo *huaca*, is called *la huaca* Peje Chico. Toledo they say was a thief, why call something sacred after a criminal?

<sup>17</sup> *La mesa* is the *sacerdotes'* placement of powerful objects which advise and aid the *sacerdote* in ceremony. There is a distinctive "mesa" for each type of ceremony she or he may perform. The Huanchacqueros say they use the "mesa" to replace "misa" (*Sacerdote* Orlando Vera, personal communication, 1996).

<sup>18</sup> These are seeds from the *ceiba* tree, primarily found in the ancient burial sites.

<sup>19</sup> This saint was considered to be the greatest wizard in Spain, and his presence is used as a power figure and assistant in Muchik *sacerdote* ceremonies.

<sup>20</sup> She asked me to write in the present tense.

<sup>21</sup> This may be the meaning of *Peje Grande's* emerald eyes.

<sup>22</sup> The *Huaca Rajada* is in the upper Lambayeque Valley. It was a Moche site dated from 100 BC to 650 AD, with pyramids and burials of nobles, close to Sipán.

<sup>23</sup> They referred to themselves as "Gentiles" with honor, as they will never accept the Christian religion and European ways.

<sup>24</sup> This is a prehistoric site covering an area of 540 acres of prehistoric pyramids, twenty-six major ones, enclosures and mounds around the Raya Mountain in the Leche River valley.

<sup>25</sup> These are the lakes in upper Piura, where it is said the *sacerdotes* go to regain their power, especially after healing ceremonies.

<sup>26</sup> She asked me not to translate this part, just write the words that she uses (1997).

<sup>27</sup> I realize this sounds rather vague; these were sessions she did not want recorded.

<sup>28</sup> As I am not an expert in *sacerdotes*, (priest-healers). I find it difficult to make a detailed analysis of this ceremony.

<sup>29</sup> Juan Ossio, 1981.

<sup>30</sup> *La Mamita* (*Virgen de Socorro*) is also considered to be a *sacerdote*.

<sup>31</sup> All of these names (*Diablada*, *Purgatorio*, *Compacto*) were given by the Spanish for indigenous activities. They were allowed only if they were designated to be evil heathen activities, see MacCormack, 1991: 255-265.

<sup>32</sup> Bourget, personal communication, 2006.

<sup>33</sup> MacCormick 1991, explains, using seventeenth century archives.

<sup>34</sup> José Leyton, personal communication, 1995.

<sup>35</sup> The interpretations of the choreography was given by *Sacerdote La Maestra*, freely translated from Spanish, 1995. In Huanchaco, 1997, I went over all of my notes pertaining to ceremonies *La Maestra* had given information on. This was primarily to know what to include in a written text, what to leave out, and to see if I had understood correctly.

<sup>36</sup> José Leyton Beltrán, personal communication, 1995.

<sup>37</sup> The *numero 12: corazon* is an recent invention of the José Leyton Beltrán (Ibid).

<sup>38</sup> José Leyton Beltrán, personal communication, 1995.

<sup>39</sup> *Chalhua* is a Mochica word for a type of fish. Sánchez Díaz, personal communication, 1995.

<sup>40</sup> Map was drawn by author with software Illustrator, referenced by Antonio Rodríguez SuySuy 1965.

<sup>41</sup> José Leyton Beltrán, personal communication 1995.

<sup>42</sup> *La Maestra*, personal communication, 1995.

<sup>43</sup> Photo from Díaz Sánchez, used with permission for educational purposes only, 1995.

<sup>44</sup> The Catholic Church did not allow men and women to dance together. The female figure is necessary to maintain a balance; Leyton, personal communication, 1995.

<sup>45</sup> Examples of the dance will be uploaded on my website, url will be sent upon request.

<sup>46</sup> See Eliade, 1987; Geertz, 1973, 1988; Turner, 1977.

<sup>47</sup> Cabieses, 1993: 141-145. These rhythms are common to all cultures; Eliade,, 1974.

<sup>48</sup> *La Maestra*, personal communication 1996.

<sup>49</sup> Freely translated from Spanish, personal communication, 1996.

<sup>50</sup> This festival draws thousands of spectators and worshipers. Every five years it becomes larger. Due to the amount of money the festival is making, the Creole elite of Trujillo is trying to influence the festival.

<sup>51</sup> José Leyton Beltrán jokingly calls it stealing.

<sup>52</sup> My knowledge of the *Pallitas* is minimal.

<sup>53</sup> Josepha Cumpa, personal communication, 1995.

<sup>54</sup> I try to write the journey from their perspective, which is difficult, especially when my Western logic comes into play.

<sup>55</sup> Important also is that Isidro has *Si*, the Mochica word for the Moon, embedded within it; *Sacerdote* Azabache, personal communication, 1996.

<sup>56</sup> Miracle reeds allow to the villagers to make the famous *cabillito* boats for fishing, and houses, which are cool in the summer and warm in winter. From the roots of these reeds a refreshing juice is made.

<sup>57</sup> *Sacerdote* Azabache, personal communication, 1996.



<sup>58</sup> Antonio Rodríguez Suysuy, 1990.

<sup>59</sup> The Catholic religion was always used as a veil over the Muchik religious practices; A. Rodríguez Suysuy, personal communication, 1996.

<sup>60</sup> Told by Azabache 1996, and freely translated.

<sup>61</sup> The coastal inhabitants were first fishermen.

<sup>62</sup> Sacerdote Azabache explained these meanings. They are:

*Número 1: Avanzar* is to introduce the dancers as corn-warriors, who have come with the "deity-representative" San Isidro to give thanks to the Earth Mother sometimes called La Mamita. The four colors of their costume represent the colors of San Isidro. The dancers dance in rows of two. This comes from the necessary cohesion and balance between the dynamic forces of nature, as water/lightning, fertility/procreation, sky/earth, etc.

*Número 2: Atrás* carries the meaning of going underground. The dancers' ancestors are their roots. Their roots and the roots of the corn plant are connected and honored.

*Número 3: Cadena* is a weaving, which is symbolic of power and direction of life, connected with the "First Corn Warriors." The Harvest weaving connotes a combination of the flow of water, and spirals, or the renewability patterns of life.

*Número 4: Circulo* are two sacred beings that operate separately but blend together as described in Moche myth, as the Moon/Sacerdote, the Jaguar/the Toad, and the giant Bird/ the Serpent.

*Número 5: Cara a cara* is a healing process. In this *numero*, one dancer looks out from a mask into the mask of another. The masks are not objects but are considered to be "living" spirits. After Harvest, there is the power and time to get rid of disharmonies and the evil winds in their "corn warrior spirits."

*Número 6: Al lado* is a recognition of the combined elements, the Sea, the River, and the Earth, which must be brought into a unity. The deities of these areas have to live in an equilibrium and not become angry, which may cause tidal waves, floods, or earthquakes.

*Número 7: Zapateo* is to fully embrace the status of dancer corn warrior, as they are set apart from the commoner. They are the brighter stars and dance with blazing fires behind their feet as they journey across the Moche campiña.

*Número 8: Unido* demonstrates the principle of harmony with the forces of the universe, which should be adjusted from time to time.

*Número 9: Cruces* represents the integral relationship between Sky, Earth, and Humans. The Earth is the ground underneath; the foundation that connects all Humans and to the Sky. It is nourishing, supportive and life-giving. As the Pleiades leave the Sky, there is harvesting and gathering. When the Pleiades are not seen, the Earth also is resting and storing up her energy. The *Cruces* combine the Earth with the Sky.

<sup>63</sup> Bolaños, personal communication, 1995.

<sup>64</sup> From the 1970s it began to become known worldwide with afroperuvian folklore groups playing in concert and recordings; Chalena Vasquez 1995: 8-10.

<sup>65</sup> The conch and rattle are the *sacerdotes'* instruments.

<sup>66</sup> The multimedia part will be accessible from my website, url will be sent upon request.

<sup>67</sup> My fieldwork in Huamachuco is minimal compared to that done in Huanchaco and Moche. From 1995 to 1997, Huamachuco was considered a no-go zone by the US government because a large *sendero* training camp was near the town. I was only given protection within the confines of the town and when I wanted to see the ruins after the festival, I was escorted in a jeep with armed soldiers. Needless to say my fieldwork was cut short.

<sup>68</sup> *Sacerdote Barrera*, personal communication, 1996.

<sup>69</sup> Used with permission, for educational purposes only.

<sup>70</sup> The headband of the Incas is described by Molina el Cuzqueno, 1943 [1574]: 20, as a *llauto* with three brilliant rays moving out from the high part of his brain, like the rays of the sun.

<sup>71</sup> "In the early decades after the Spanish invasion, Incans were remembered bitterly as tyrants...As of the nineteenth century, memories of the Inca became mythic, for example the play of the death of Atahualpa. They also dressed in Andean dress as Incans..." (MacCormack, 1991: 415).

<sup>72</sup> *Sacerdote La Maestra*, personal communication, 1997.

## **PART IV: CONCLUSION**

### **Chapter 9: Ceremonial Expression, Disengagement and Resistance, Final Statement of *La Maestra*.**

#### **OVERVIEW.**

The Muchik continue to negotiate with their ancestral spirits with ceremonies and sacred narratives. Their history-through-myth, sacred music and dance are remembered and taught by *sacerdotes andinos* (priest-healers) in ritual. Frequent participation in these “teaching” ceremonies develop a profound meaning of their world because the myth, music and dance are experienced.

Insomuch as I cannot bring *Sacerdote La Maestra* and her instructional chants and rattle to life in this dissertation, I shall attempt an *exposé* of three parts. They are: a) the strength of the Muchik ceremonial expressions in ritual; b) the Muchik mechanisms of disengagement and resistance; and c) a final statement of *La Maestra*.

## **CEREMONIAL EXPRESSION.**

According to Muchik belief,<sup>1</sup> all life as it is lived and experienced today is part of a vast unchanging network of relationships that can be traced mythically-historically to their ancestors or to ancestral beings. The Muchik origin myths<sup>2</sup> or "creation stories" discuss and explain the genesis of the first human beings and their formation of the world and all of the features of the land. These human beings took various forms, sometimes appearing as animals, as persons, as plants or simply as forces of nature. Regardless of form, however, they interacted with each other and left distinctive and identifying marks in the form of mountains, hills, caves, rivers, lakes and other identifying features on the landscape, wherever they went. Everything in the Muchik world, thus, reflects this essence or spirit that had its beginnings in ancient time. Every living person is considered to have descended from one of these ancestral spirits and to possess, as a consequence, some of its life force. The spirit from which an individual is descended from is considered to be her or his mystical guardian; one whom she or he can "become," one with whom she or he can "communicate," one from

whom the individual can “learn” in religious dances and ceremonies of the Muchik.

The embodiment of these ancestral forces, the Muchik learn the laws for human relations and the mythological-historical importance of their Muchik society. These teachings from and about the ancient ones occur through the media of song and dance and the content of these teachings has been passed down throughout the generations. In this way the dance together with music and song is the expression of Muchik sacred culture. *Sacerdote La Maestra* explains, that “The *Diablada* dancers “re-live” our past, that if lost can never be found.” A common saying, “As it was done by our ancestors, so it must be done today,” pervades the Muchik tradition.

Their *sacerdotes* are the healer-priests and the teachers. The lessons from the *sacerdote* are not only an intellectual exercise; they are, rather, “lived.” Muchik myths are initiated, invoked, and experienced with the sounds of the *sacerdote* ancestor conch trumpet, the sound of the *maraca* (seed) rattle and song-chants in ceremony, but, significantly, not by everyday language. The initiation ritual of the *Diablada*, for example, takes place on top of the *huaca* of the Chimú ancestor in ChanChan from midnight to dawn. Then with *la siete ñustas de wiracocha* combined with the sounds of the ocean

waves breaking on the shore, and the constant rattle and chanting of the *sacerdote*, one travels with *La Maestra*. These historical-mythological adventure-traditions are repeated frequently, are remembered, and are passed on from one generation to the next, through sound: from one person to another.

The dances of the *Diablada*, the *Ingas* and *Ñustas*, and the processional journey to the Moche River, tell stories of the community, of the land, of relationships, and of the culture of the people. For each village, there is a distinct structure and style of expression. The sacred rituals during the religious festivals are fundamentally concerned with participating reciprocally with their deities by giving thanks to those to whom they are devoted for all the gifts that have sustained them in the past with the hope they will continue in seasons to come. The Muchik believe there is a sacred order in the universe that operates on principles of “obligation” and “reciprocity,” and it is the *sacerdote* who assures the proper balance is maintained.

Their oral traditions, legends and myths are not written down; instead they are remembered with *marcas* or designated labels of sacred places, on Earth, Sea and in the Sky. These *marcas* trigger ancient memories.

Time is decided in the Sky World, as it is “the Sky deity who created the moon, the stars, the sun to regulate the days, nights, seasons, and years on Earth.”<sup>3</sup> The *sacerdotes* are a small elite that guard the community's soul and consult with Sky deities, ancestors, and nature spirits on a daily basis. They also know how to please their deities by chanting of their great deeds in ancient times. The villagers will always support the healer-priests who stand by them in all of their troubles, mental and physical.

The *sacerdotes* more often than not are the directors of the dances and music at the religious *fiestas*. They know how to weave mythological, cosmic and other ideas into the body movement and the rhythm. However, it is not merely knowing the steps; the mind and heart must also be in tune. Nightly private rituals with the dancers teach and transform the performers into powerful mythical dancer-warriors, with ancestor-nature spirits of profound cosmological identification. The dance and music itself are a re-creation of past into a present, victorious event.

In the world of the Muchik, Sky deities and Earth deities are multiple, and always play a part in their daily lives. They say, “In order to smooth the journey through life, the healing-protecting energy gained as warrior-dancer must be transferred to the human-fisherman,

or human-farmer.” The music and dance of the Muchik are used to transfer these energy systems. They are engaged as patterned forms of communication connecting the human, the deity, the ancestor, and the natural world. The ritual brings about order as a feedback mechanism to its source, the original ancestors and nature.



**DISENGAGEMENT AND RESISTANCE.**

The Muchik have formed a “regional interdependence<sup>4</sup> macro system” that operates among the villages on the coastal region of Northern Peru. This system goes beyond the purpose of trade. It includes intercultural exchanges of information and alliances of all sorts among the other indigenous communities in South America and elsewhere. Moreover, this system is based on a cultural and sociopolitical integration of these indigenous groups in order to maintain their own social, economic and religious autonomy. Although the European encounter and attempted colonization may have induced change in various aspects of this system, it has also by the very nature of its oppression encouraged these groups to develop mechanisms of resistance, including creative cultural strategies to sustain their ancestral religious orientation rather than adopting ways of the Whites. On the coast they became indifferent to the Whites. The Muchik *sacerdotes* believe “the mythical precepts of their forefathers are valid and that the White way is an illusion and shallow.”<sup>5</sup> Their culture heroes and deities belong to the Muchik

imagination and they relinquish no power. The villagers are at the center of their universe, with their beliefs and life style intact.

*Sacerdote La Maestra*<sup>6</sup> explains further (English translation followed by Spanish transcription):

Being Muchik transcends all of the confusing processes brought along by conquest, colonization and neocolonization. It is simple. The Whites should learn the moral teaching to love others; to honor one's parents; to do what is right instead of what is of advantage; to practice reciprocity, consideration for others, what you don't want yourself, don't do to others. The Whites think they know what is best, but they cannot see that they live in a world of darkness and decay. They have no inner strength or substance; they have become like the material things they are making. On the outside it is shiny and bright, but completely empty inside. Why? Perhaps they have lost something important.

(Ser Muchik sobrepasa todos los procesos confusos que la conquista, la colonización y neocolonización trajeron consigo. Es sencillo. Los Blancos deben aprender la enseñanza moral de amar a los otros; honrar a los padres; hacer lo que tiene razón en vez de lo que es para ventaja propia; practicar la reciprocidad, la consideración hacia los otros; lo que tu no quieres para ti, no hacérselo a otros. Los Blancos piensan que ellos saben lo que es mejor, pero ellos no pueden ver que ellos viven en un mundo de oscuridad y decadencia. Ellos no tienen fuerza ni sustancia interior; ellos han llegado a ser como las cosas materiales que ellos hacen. Por fuera son luminosos y brillantes, pero completamente vacíos por dentro. ¿Por qué? Quizás ellos han perdido algo importante.)

This has been a growing and more outspoken view of the *sacerdotes* towards the Whites. The Muchik have essentially disengaged from the White world. The cultural difference gap between the Muchik and Whites continues because the actual thought processes

of the two are different. Within the Muchik thinking form and content inter-penetrate each other completely. The masked dancers enter the myth and become the active character they are representing. The numerous *huacas*, rocks, water, clouds, animals, trees, and grass not only represent themselves; they are "alive" with human qualities.

In this resistance and disengagement, sacred public ceremonies are constructed so that they can be "read" two ways. One is to entertain and give aesthetic pleasure to the viewer; the other is to promote longevity and victory in life to the performer and his or her community. In this way, the dance and music become an artistic expression as well as an experience of the mythic sacred world.

There is a cryptic nature of the ritual. This has to do with the necessity of the Muchik to be secret<sup>7</sup> and silent about their beliefs with the White world, in order to remain disengaged. Kosok (1965: 166) reported on this secrecy when visiting the village of Salas, upper Leche Valley in 1948-9. He wrote:

Salas in the past was known as one of the leading centers of "*sacerdotes*."<sup>8</sup> Here the ancient "spiritual" healer-priests gathered and by means of magic and medicine drove out devils and cured people of sicknesses and mental complexes.

Even more amazing is the fact that this knowledge has been passed down from generation to generation so that some of the descendants of the ancient *sacerdotes* still practice their magic arts. In fact Salas has a kind of *sacerdote* "school" to which "students" from various parts of the Northwest Coast go for study and to which persons afflicted with physical and mental ailments go for a cure. Since

the government considers people engaged in (this practice) to be illegal medical practitioners, all practices and teaching are carried on in secrecy. Therefore, it is difficult to obtain information about the present day ideas and practices of this.

In 1974, the practice of indigenous healing was still secretive, although it was common knowledge that Salas was a center for some of the more powerful *sacerdotes*. In 1996 there was a complete turn-around. For the first time the University of Trujillo in a public ceremony gave at least ten to fifteen honorary medical doctor certificates to practicing *sacerdotes*, legitimizing them as official doctors.

In general, the elite White class believes they are superior and describe the villagers as primitive and backward. The Muchik resist by being tranquil and reticent, so that they can maintain their world, which is "alive, beautiful, and true."<sup>9</sup> Their world includes the religious rituals that aid in the growth and protection of the young plants and animals and which maintain a harmonic balance among the villagers. Their world includes the shamanistic song-chants combined with magical herbs and rattles for divination and healing ceremonies. Their world includes ritualistic dance and music that replay their mythic past, closing a cycle and starting another, wherein new aspects are negotiated that can affect climate, plant and animal life, the human

habitat and its economy, social and religious institutions, and the structure of time and space. Their world includes the Sky World, a place where the deities, ancestors and good spirits live. And their world includes the Earth World, which the Muchik people inhabit and where they develop their daily life.

To some extent every farmer and fisherman is engaged in this process of tuning into the natural presences that influence daily life. But it is the *sacerdotes*, *ancianos*, dancers and musicians who go beyond and deal with more-than-human mythic worlds. Dance and music are an expression of their mythology and religion. During the *fiestas*, the fishermen and farmers are determined to bind the seasonal, ecological, cultural, mythic, music and dance cycles together. Although the everyday pace of the fishermen and farmers is slow, during the *fiesta*, the dancers, musicians, and *sacerdotes* become caught up in a form of vortex, an ocean of cycles and circling movement and their senses of color, sound, movement and beauty are acute.

### **FINAL STATEMENT BY *LA MAESTRA*.**

After more than two decades, I think I am only scratching the surface. This study of religious ceremonies, myth and music is intended to bring the readers closer to another culture with its living stories, so that they could experience the Muchik philosophy from *Sacerdote la Maestra's* words rather than my own. So I end with her words. One time *La Maestra* asked me about "studies of culture."

She asked (English translation followed by Spanish transcription): <sup>10</sup>

What is the meaning of this word "culture?" I hear it from anthropologists, linguists, archaeologists, doctors and engineers. All of them and you are trying to explain the way of life of humans in relation to your specialties. With your scientific brain you are pretending to explain the way of Andean life. Let me put you on another path. If you want to know the Andean culture—it has been and is, to be autonomous (free from external control and constraint) from our first beginnings and forever. The Andean culture is continuous and alive. We are not the remnants of an exalted people. We are the people. And we are connected to life, mountains, fish, plants and fruits, which in this moment are living the same moment as us. We are not finite in time and space, we are in the "always." Every time I look at the Mochica pictures (iconography), I enter more into the reality of the *siempre*. Our religious life is not an expression of art; it is an expression of life, with humans, nature, and deities as one person. We have lived like this for 15,000 years or more. As you see in the Mochica art, that is how we are and live, and always will.

(¿Qué es el significado de esta palabra "la cultura?" Yo lo oigo de antropólogos, de los lingüistas, de los arqueólogos, de los médicos, y de los ingenieros. Todos ellos y tu tratan de explicar el estilo de vida de los humanos en relación a sus especialidades. Con tu cerebro

científico tu pretendes explicar la manera de la vida andina. Permítame que lo ponga en otro manera. Si tu quieres conocer lo que es la cultura andina -ha sido y es, para ser autónomo de nuestros primeros principios y para siempre. La cultura andina es continua y viva. Nosotros no somos los restos de unas personas famosas. Somos esas personas. Y somos conectados a la vida, las montañas, el pez, las plantas y las frutas, que en este momento vive el mismo momento que nosotros. Nosotros no estamos fíca en el tiempo y el espacio; nosotros estamos en el "siempre." Cada vez yo miro los pictografías de los Mochica entro más en la realidad del siempre. Nuestra vida religiosa no es una expresión de arte, es una expresión de vida con los seres humanos, con la naturaleza, y con las deidades como una sola persona. Hemos vivido de esta manera por 15.000 años o más. Como puedes ver en el arte de los Mochica, es cómo somos y como vivimos, y siempre lo haremos así.)



Figure 9.1 Northwest Coast at Night – Full Moon at *La Playa de los Chimus* in 1987.

## Endnotes to Chapter Nine, pp 192-204.

<sup>1</sup> *Sacerdote* Mamita Mauricia, personal communication, 1995.

<sup>2</sup> These myths and legends are presented in part III.

<sup>3</sup> *Sacerdote* Anhuamán, personal communication, 1995.

<sup>4</sup> Referenced from the Venezuela anthropologists as "the existence of native people living separate from the urban industrialized populace" See Arvelo-Jiménez (1981, 1998b; Arvelo-Jiménez et al. 1989; Arvelo-Jiménez and Biord Castillo, 1994; Morales and Arvelo-Jiménez, 1991.)

<sup>5</sup> *Sacerdote* Anhuamán, personal communication, 1995.

<sup>6</sup> Personal communication, 1995, freely translated from Spanish.

<sup>7</sup> This is just what they have allowed me to see.

<sup>8</sup> Kosok used the words "witchcraft (*brujería*)," and "witch doctors," where I have substituted the words "*sacerdote*" and "spiritual" upon the advice of Antonio Rodríguez SuySuy and *Sacerdote La Maestra*.

<sup>9</sup> *Sacerdote La Maestra*, personal communication, 1996.

<sup>10</sup> Parentheses are mine.



## Appendix A: Villages and Festivals Surveyed

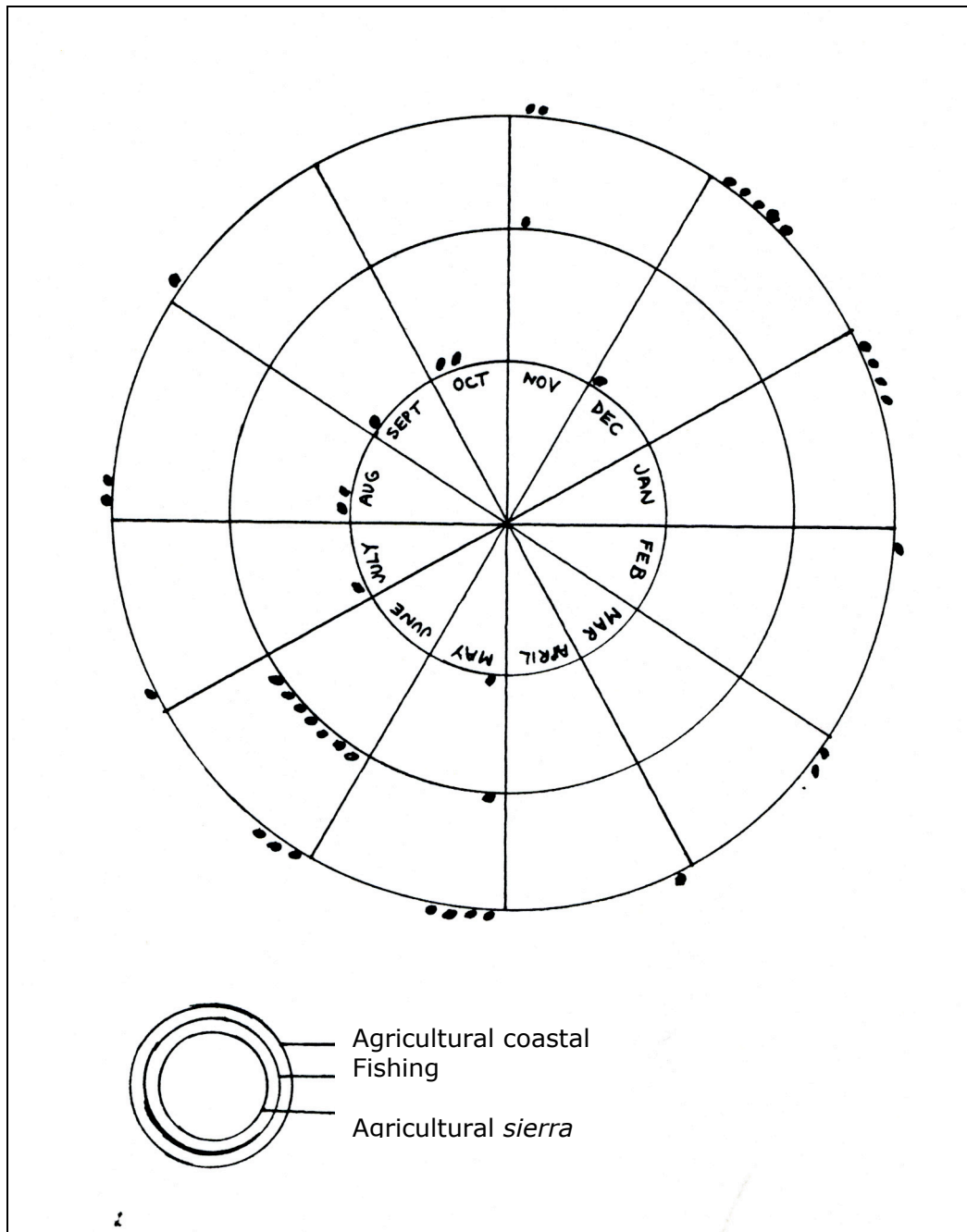
<b>Area</b>	<b>Fiesta</b>	<b>Location</b>	<b>Date</b>
Fishing	<i>la Mamita</i>	Huanchaco (a,d,e)	~Nov.15-Dec.26
Agr. Coast	<i>Dia de los Santos</i>	Moche (b,c,e)	2nd Sun.- Nov.
Agr. Coast	<i>Dia de los Santos</i>	Viru (b,c,e)	2nd Sun.- Nov.
Agr. Coast	<i>Virgen deGuadalupe</i>	Guadalupe (a,d,e,f)	Dec. 9
Agr. Coast	<i>Virgen de Dolores</i>	Viru (a,d,e,f)	Dec. 12
Agr. Coast	<i>Virgen Santa Lucia</i>	Moche (a,e,f)	Dec. 13
Agr. Coast	<i>Virgen Santa Lucia</i>	Ferrenafe (b,e,f)	Dec. 13
		Magdalena de Cao	
Agr. Coast	<i>Maria Magdalena</i>	(b,e,f)	Dec. 29
Agr. Sierra	<i>Virgen de la Puerta</i>	Otuzco (a,d,e,f)	Dec. 13
Agr. Coast	<i>de los Reyes</i>	Nariguala (b,d,e,f)	Jan. 6
Agr. Coast	<i>de los Reyes</i>	Mochumi (b,f)	Jan. 6
Agr. Coast	<i>Medio Ano</i>	Eten (a,e)	Jan. 11-28
Agr. Coast	<i>Senor de la Piedad</i>	Simbal (a,d,e,f)	Jan. 27
Agr. Coast	<i>Senor de los Milagros</i>	Paijan (a,d,e,f)	1st Sun. - Feb.
Agr. Coast	<i>Semana Santa</i>	Catacaos (a,c,d,e)	March
Agr. Coast	<i>Santo Toribio</i>	Zana (a,f)	Apr. 27
Agr. Coast	<i>San Isidro</i>	Moche (a,d,e)	Mar.20-May15
Agr. Coast	<i>Cruz de Panala</i>	Morrope (a,d,e)	May10
Agr. Coast	<i>Cruz</i>	Oyutun (b,f)	May 3
Agr. Coast	<i>Cruz</i>	Playa-Chimus (a,e)	May 3
Agr. Sierra	<i>San Isidro</i>	Contumaza (b,e)	May 15
Agr. Coast	<i>Senor Huaman</i>	Huaman (a,d,e,f)	June 1

## Appendix A: Villages and Festivals Surveyed (cont.)

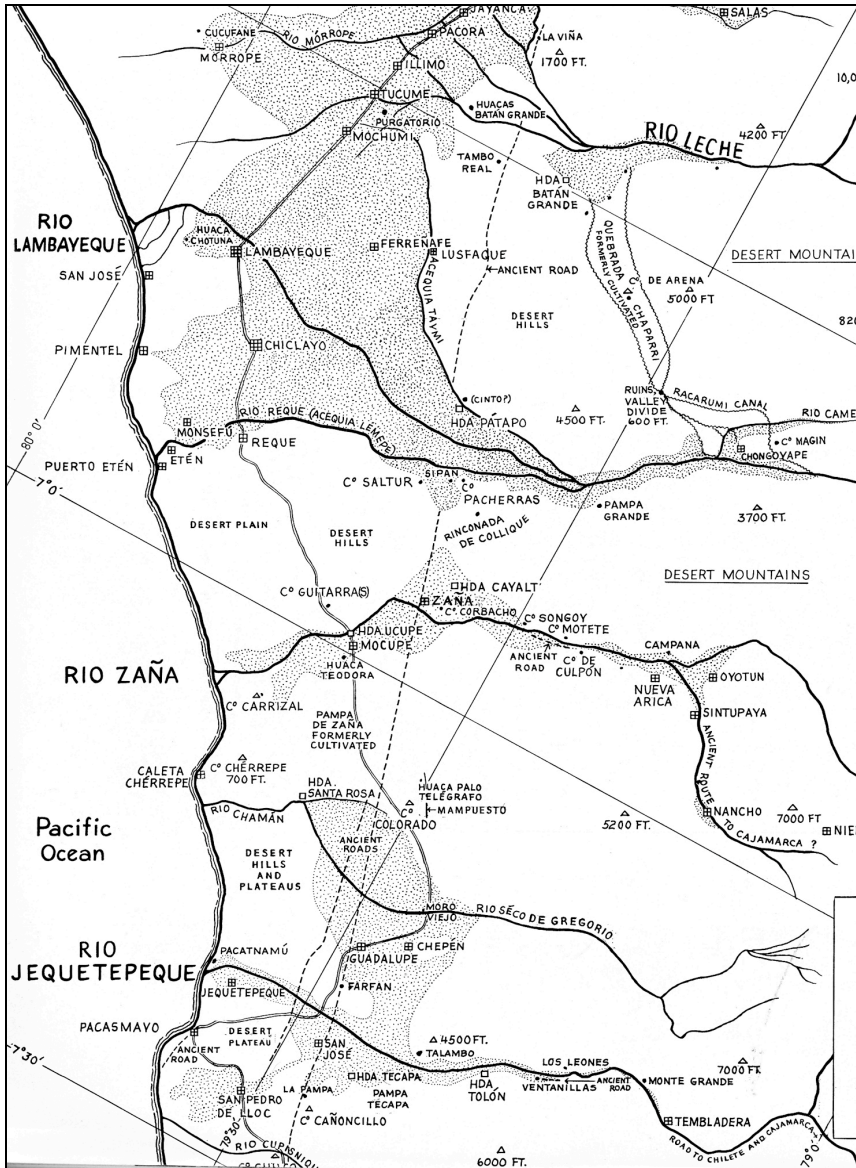
<b>Area</b>	<b>Fiesta</b>	<b>Location</b>	<b>Date</b>
Agr. Coast	<i>Senor de la Cana</i>	Chiclin (b,f)	June 24
Agr. Coast	<i>Santiago</i>	Santiago de Cao (b,f)	June 25
Fishing	<i>San Pedro</i>	Pt. Eten (b,e,f)	June 28
Fishing	<i>San Pedro</i>	San Jose (b,e,f)	June 28
Fishing	<i>San Pedro</i>	Pt. Santa (b,e,f)	June 28
Fishing	<i>San Pedro</i>	Pt. Casma (b,e,f)	June 28
Fishing	<i>San Pedro</i>	Huanchaco (a,e,f)	June 28
Fishing	<i>San Pedro</i>	Santa Rosa (a,e,f)	June 28
Fishing	<i>San Pedro</i>	Chuiliyachi (b,e,f)	June 28
Agr. Coast	<i>Nino del Milagro</i>	Eten (b,f)	July 12-25
Agr. Sierra	<i>Senor del Milagros</i>	Santiago-Chuco (b,d,f)	July 25
Agr. Coast	<i>Cruz de Chalpon</i>	Motupe (a,d,e,f)	August 5
Agr. Coast		Olmos (b,f)	August 24
Agr. Sierra	<i>La Mama Collo</i>	Huamachuco (a,d,e,f)	July 24-August 16
Agr. Sierra		Cutervo (b,f)	August 16
Agr. Coast	<i>Senor de Cautivo</i>	Monsefu (a,d,f)	Sept.14
Agr. Sierra	<i>San Miguel</i>	S.M. Pallaques (b,e,f)	Sept.14
Agr. Sierra	<i>Senor de Rosallo</i>	Cascas (a,d,f)	Oct.28
Agr. Sierra	<i>San Francisco</i>	Salas (b,f)	Oct.4

Key: a - Festival witnessed  
b - Festival heard about  
c - Universal (occurs in every village)  
d - Regional or supra-local  
e - Ecologically (of annual cycle) oriented  
f - Patronal

## Appendix B: Calendar of Festival Cycles



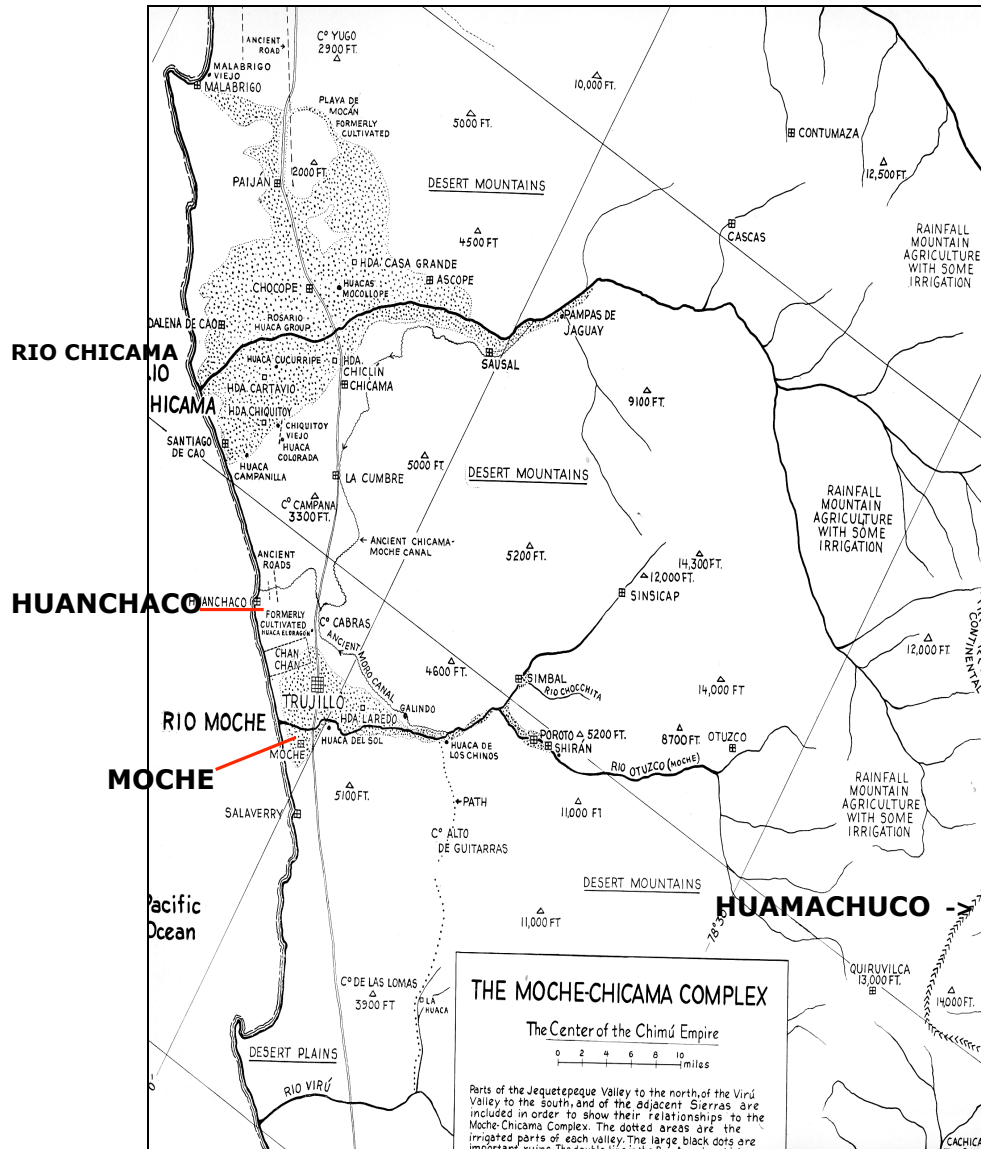
## Appendix C: Map of North Chimor



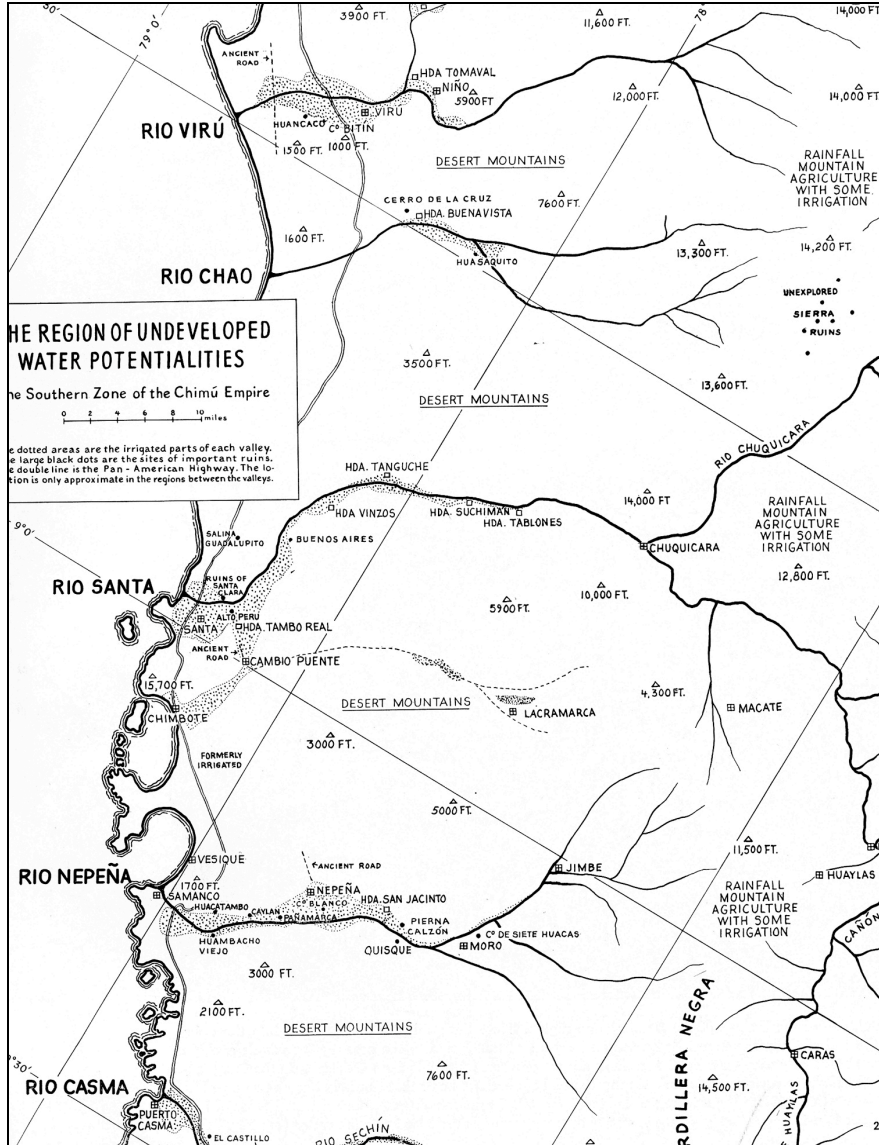
Scale - 1 inch = 100 mile

(Maps in Appendix C, D, and E are drawn by author using software Illustrator, referenced from Kosok 1965: 146, 180.)

## Appendix D: Map of Moche-Chicama Complex



## Appendix E: Map of South Chimor



## Glossary

*Acequia*, irrigation ditch or canal.

*Aguardiente*, strong liquor, usually made from sugarcane.

*Alforja*, a hand-woven saddlebag or shoulder bag.

*Apus*, the great beings who are the spirits of the tallest mountain peaks (Quechua).

*Ayni*, the Andean concept of reciprocity (Quechua).

*Cabillito del mar*, literally "little horse of the sea," a one-man reed fishing vessel.

*Campiña*, irrigated countryside.

*Causa*, form of a simple meal.

*Cerro*, mountain.

*Cerro Blanco*, the guardian, the "white mountain" of Moche.

*Cerro Campana*, the guardian, the "bell-shaped mountain" of Huanchaco, used to be called the *Cerro Azul*, the "blue mountain."

*Chicha*, native fermented alcoholic beverage usually made from corn.

*Cholo*, green corn on the cob.

*Estera*, mat made of reeds tied together in an interconnected technique.

*Fur*, the Mochica word for the Pleiades.

*Huaca*, "spirit within the sacred places" (Quechua).

*Huerta*, garden or orchard that usually surrounds the farmer's house.

*Huandor*, as used in *San Pedro Huandor* refers to the deity-spirit of the cactus, from the Aymara.

*Huantu*, litter as a hammock.

*Mesa*, sort of altar laid out on the ground used by the *sacerdote andino*.

*Minga*, a voluntary or semi-voluntary work group organized for the benefit of the group in an egalitarian manner, and involving entertaining features as well as labor; a system for exchanging labor.

*Na*, Mochica word for sea.

*Pachamama*, the great cosmic Mother that is the Earth

*Sacerdote Andino*, healer, diviner, special priest whose mission it is to evoke the spirits in order to reveal knowledge of the future or of mysterious events.

*Si*, the Mochica word for the moon.

*Topo*, Incan units of land measurement.

*Totora*, a wild reed grown in marshy areas, used for making *estera* mats and fishing vessels.

*Yunga*, Quechua for "Continent of the Hot Lands," the Chimú Empire, and coastal area.

*Wachaque*, name of the marshy area where the *totora* reeds are grown.



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## **Vita**

Nancy Ellen Schaeffer was born in Port Jefferson, New York on January 2, 1949, the daughter of Viola Long Schaeffer and Oliver Adam Schaeffer. After completing Earl L. Vandemeulen High School, Port Jefferson, New York in 1965, she entered the University of New York at Stony Brook, New York. In 1967 she attended the Albert Ludwig Universität, Freiburg, Germany. In 1968 she transferred to the University of Texas of Austin, Texas. She received the degree of Bachelor of Arts from the University of Austin, Texas in 1975. She entered the graduate school of the University of Texas at Austin, Texas in 1976 and received a degree of Masters of Arts in 1978. In 1990 she entered the graduate school at the University of California at Berkeley. In 1993 she returned to the graduate school at the University of Texas at Austin. From summer 1999-present, she is employed as Adjunct and Assistant Professor teaching Liberal Arts and Cultural Studies at Saint Edward's University, Austin, Texas.

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